

MARYLAND

HISTORICAL MAGAZINE



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The Garden Front

MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY

BALTIMORE

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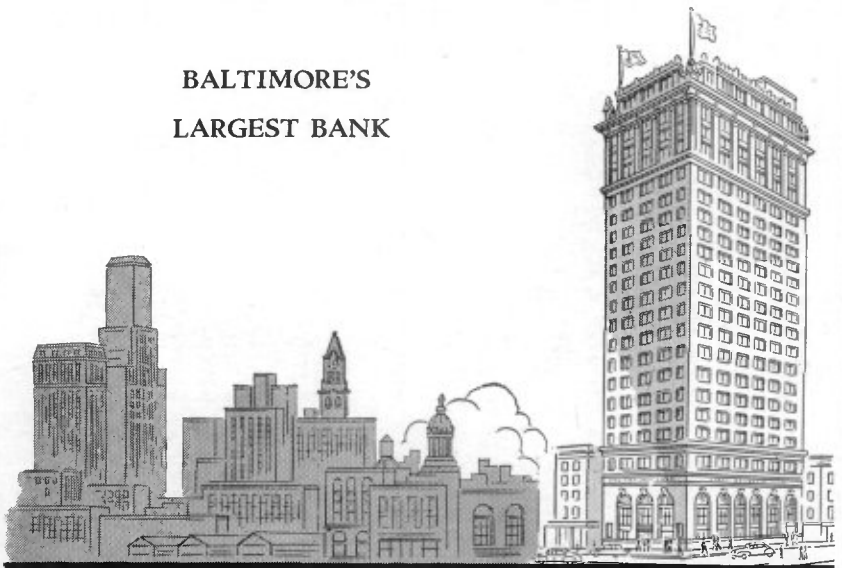
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VOLUME XLIX

BALTIMORE

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MARYLAND HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

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FRED SHELLEY, Editor

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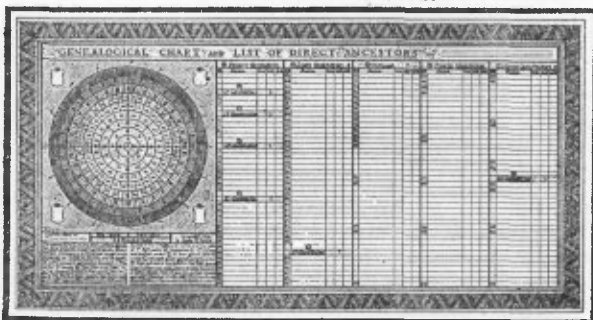
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Governor - 1779-1782 & 1792-1794

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MARYLAND HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

A Quarterly

Volume XLIX

MARCH, 1954

Number 1

REVOLUTIONARY MAIL BAG: GOVERNOR THOMAS SIM LEE'S CORRESPONDENCE, 1779—1782

Edited by HELEN LEE PEABODY

THE contents of a chest of several hundred unpublished letters and papers, belonging to Thomas Sim Lee, Governor of Maryland during the American Revolution, form the basis of the following pages.¹ The chest, containing these letters and private papers, together with the rest of his personal possessions, was inherited by his youngest son, John Lee, the only unmarried child still living with his father at the time of his death.

John Lee, my grandfather, left his inheritance, the old family mansion, "Needwood," in Frederick County, and all it contained, to my father, Charles Carroll Lee. In this manner the chest of letters descended to the present generation.

¹ There is no life of Lee. Standard accounts are to be found in the *Dictionary of American Biography*, XI, 132, and H.E. Buchholz, *Governors of Maryland* (Baltimore, 1908), pp. 9-13.

The papers—designated hereafter as the T. S. Lee Collection—when found, comprised over a thousand items. The papers were arranged in packages, tied with tape, and tabulated, which facilitated the onerous task of sorting and reading. Many had to be laid aside, as totally unsuited to a compilation of this kind. These comprised invoices, bills of lading, acknowledgements by London firms of hogsheads of tobacco received, orders for furniture, clothing, household utensils—all, in short, that made up the interchange of life between our Colonial ancestors and British merchants. There is a package of sixty letters from James Molleson, merchant, alone, and perhaps several hundred other business papers. A substantial packet deals with the sale of a tract of land, "Paradise," of which several Lee cousins inherited their share, or moiety. These letters, especially those from Richard Lee, Jr., to his cousin, Thomas Sim Lee, are punctuated with allusions to lighter matters, love affairs, balls, and family gossip, sometimes of an amusing character. Other packets are from friends—forty from William Fitzhugh of Chatham, from Charles Carroll of Carrollton and Archbishop John Carroll, as well as from less conspicuous persons, such as Christopher Richmond and Uriah Forrest.

But the most interesting, of course, are directly concerned with winning the war and are of a public nature. A series of fifty-six are from James McHenry, at that time aide to Lafayette at the front, during the siege of Yorktown, and give the latest details of the fighting, straight by galloping horsemen to the door of Government House at Annapolis and into the hands of Governor Lee.

A certain number of letters from General Washington to Lee, seem to have been part of these personal papers as late as 1861. On May 9 of that year the Governor's son, John Lee, wrote to Jared Sparks of Harvard, asking advice as to publishing a series of some forty letters from Washington to his father, written chiefly during the Yorktown Campaign.² Sparks strongly advised the project, but nothing further seems to have come of it, and these particular letters have been scattered. A number of these scattered letters have now been traced to various public and private collections, and have been restored (by photostats) to their original context, as far as possible, in connection with Governor Lee's answers.

² This exchange of letters is in the T. S. Lee Collection.

Lee, second governor of the State of Maryland, was born on October 29, 1745, and died October 9, 1819. His life covered, therefore, the entire last half of the 18th century in Maryland, that century which has been called the "Golden Age" of the colonies.

His grandfather, Philip Lee, had established himself, in the year 1700, on the Potomac River in Prince George's County, Maryland. He had been given this tract of land by his father, Richard Lee of Westmoreland County, Virginia, and was the first of the numerous Lee clan to make his home, and that of his descendants, in Maryland. He became a member of the Council of Maryland, a Justice of the Peace, and in other ways proved a solid member of the community. Having been twice married, he left a family of seventeen sons and daughters, and of these, Thomas, the fourth son, was the father of the future governor.

Little is recorded of the early years of Thomas Sim Lee. His mother's maiden name was Christiana Sim. He had one sister, Sarah. His father died when he was four years old. Presumably he spent his boyhood at the paternal homestead of his grandfather, Blenheim.³ His father was Clerk of the County, and young Lee, still a minor at the time of his father's death, was given the position. His uncle, Antony Sim, was appointed by Lord Baltimore to administer the office until he should come of age. It is said that Lord Baltimore, who had known his father, wished him to be sent to England to be educated at Eton and Oxford.⁴ This plan, if conceived, was never carried out.

Young Lee must have been of imposing appearance. He was described as "six foot four in height, every inch of him magnificent." He could never be induced, however, to sit for his portrait. In his early twenties he made a trip to England, meeting British relatives, of which every Colonial family possessed a score, and forming connections which, in some instances, were life-long. A number of letters now in the family testify to these connections.

On October 24, 1771, he married Mary, only daughter of the

³ "Blenheim," Prince George's Co., referred to in family letters of the time, was burnt to the ground at some unknown date. It was in existence in 1771 for a letter from Richard Lee, Jr., to his cousin, T. S. Lee, is dated Blenheim, Nov. 2, 1771.

See Ethel Roby Hayden, "The Lees of Blenheim," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XXXVIII (1924), 199-207, and Edmund J. Lee, *Lee of Virginia* (Philadelphia, 1895), pp. 96, 148-153.

⁴ Referred to in a letter from Mary Digges Lee Gouverneur to my father, Charles Carroll Lee, dated Needwood, May 15, 1889.

prominent Catholic landowner Ignatius Digges of Melwood Park, Prince George's County. He thus allied himself with a family as distinguished as his own, the Digges family tree going back to its English progenitor, Sir Dudley Digges of Chilham Castle in Kent, Ambassador to Russia in the reign of James the First.

At the outbreak of the Revolution, young Lee professed himself a sympathizer with the patriot cause and organized a band of local militia. We hear nothing further of his military ambitions, however. He served in August, 1776, as a delegate from Prince George's County to the Convention then meeting in Annapolis.

In 1777 he received an invitation from the governor of Maryland, Thomas Johnson, Jr., to make one of the governor's Council of five. He accepted and two years later was himself nominated and elected Governor of Maryland, serving from November 8, 1779, to November 22, 1782.

It is with these three crowded, harassing years of crisis in the Revolutionary cause, crowned by the victory of Yorktown, that the greater part of Governor Lee's correspondence quoted in the following pages deals.

(It will be noted that in certain instances probable complimentary closes are supplied in brackets. The discerning reader will also note that exact chronology has not always been used in the hope that the grouping of letters will aid in an understanding of the subjects discussed. It should be understood that Governor Lee acted in many matters in concert with his Council, thus the use of the expressions "we," "our," etc.)

JOSEPH SIM ⁵ TO THOMAS SIM LEE
(T. S. Lee Collection).

[Annapolis, Nov. 8, 1779]

Dear Sir,

The Business of Appointing the Governor is Just now finished, and I have the pleasure to inform you of your having a Majority of Votes,—there was only yourself and Col^o. Lloyd proposed—for you 39, Col^o. Lloyd 18.⁶—Mr. Chase⁷ warmly recommended General Smallwood, but after a long debate which Continued 'till after night, it was determined by a Question & division of the House that General Smallwood was not

⁵ Joseph Sim, Lee's uncle, was a member of the State Senate at this time.

⁶ Edward Lloyd (1744-1796), of Talbot County.

⁷ Samuel Chase (1741-1811), a member of the House of Delegates for Annapolis.

Eligible under a Resolve of Convention of the year 1776.⁸ This determination seems to Mortify Chase & his party greatly as great pains was taken to carry their point.

A Joint Letter from the President and Speaker will be sent you tomorrow to inform you of your Appointment. I have kept my Man in Town to this time on purpose to give you the earliest information of your Appointment, well knowing it would give you satisfaction to be informed of it as soon as possible. Mr. Cannfeld joins me in Congratulating you on this event & I am

very truly, D. Sir your
Affectionate Serv^t

Joseph Sim

8th Nov. Annapolis Monday Night 8 O Clock

P. S. I have ordered Tench to leave this place by Day Light & go immediately with this letter to you at Mr. Diggsses.⁹ J. S.

Mr. Josias Beall Chose[n] Speaker of the House of Delegates without opposition.

JENIFER AND BEALL TO THOMAS SIM LEE
(T. S. Lee Collection)

Annapolis Nov. 9th 1779

Sir,

We are directed by the General Assembly to notify you of your appointment of Governor, and to request you will attend and qualify as soon as you conveniently can.

We have the honor to be, Sir, your
Obedient Servants

Dan. of St. Thos. Jenifer P.[resident] S.[enate]
Josias Beall—Speaker H.[ouse] D.[elegates]

THOMAS JEFFERSON TO THOMAS SIM LEE ¹⁰
(Maryland Historical Society)

Williamsburg, Dec. 15, 1779

Sir

The inclosed letter which came by a flag of truce from New-York, will, I imagine, inform you that prisoners from your state are sent here for

⁸ William Smallwood (1732-1792), who was judged ineligible while he held a commission as brigadier general. He continued in the military service until 1783 and served as governor, 1785-1788.

⁹ Ignatius Digges, Lee's father-in-law.

¹⁰ Printed in Julian P. Boyd (ed.), *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson* (Princeton, 1950-), III, 222-223, and *Maryland Historical Magazine*, V (1910), 256-257.

the purpose of exchange.¹¹ a copy of a letter from the master of the flag I also take the liberty of inclosing, as it will give you further information of their arrival here & escape from the flag.¹² the master is to await the return of the prisoners whom your Excellency may think proper to give in exchange for these.

After expressing my satisfaction at Your Excellency's appointment to an office, a second time so worthily filled, I take this my earliest opportunity of asking leave to trouble you from time to time with such communications as may be for the good of either state, of praying that you will be pleased to render me instrumental to their common service by honoring me with your commands, & of assuring you how earnestly I wish to see a perfect cordiality maintained between two sister states to whom common interests, manners, & dispositions have rendered a cordial intercourse so easy and necessary.

I am with the utmost respect & esteem Your Excellency's most obedient & most humble servt

Th: Jefferson

GEORGE WASHINGTON TO THOMAS SIM LEE¹³

(Washington MSS, Library of Congress)

Head Quarters Morris town

Dec. 16th 1779

Sir:

The situation of the Army with respect to supplies is beyond description alarming. It has been five or six months past on half allowance, and we have not more than three days bread at a third allowance on hand, nor anywhere within reach.¹⁴

When this is exhausted, we must depend on the precarious gleanings of the neighboring country.

Our magazines are absolutely empty everywhere, and our commissaries entirely destitute of money or credit to replenish them.

We have never experienced a like extremity at any period of the war.

We have often felt temporary want from accidental delays in forwarding supplies, but we always had something in our magazines, and the means of procuring more. Neither one nor the other is at present the case.

This representation is the result of a minute examination of our resources.

Unless some extraordinary and immediate exertions are made by the

¹¹ Enclosure not located.

¹² Undoubtedly this letter is the one written by Andrew Stalker, on board the "Mary Ann Flag of Truce in Cherrytons" to the Commissary of Naval Prisoners, December 3, 1779. It was printed in *Maryland Historical Magazine*, V (1910), 256-257. This copy of this letter is now in the Maryland Historical Society.

¹³ Printed in John C. Fitzpatrick (ed.), *The Writings of Washington* (Washington, 1931-1944), XVII, 273-274.

¹⁴ See Harold T. Pinkett, "Maryland as a Source of Food Supplies During the American Revolution," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XLVI (Sept., 1951), 157-172.

States from which we draw our supplies, there is every appearance that the army will infallibly disband in a fortnight.

I think it is my duty to lay this candid view of our situation before your Excellency, and to intreat the vigorous interposition of the States to rescue us from the danger of an event, which, if it did not prove the total ruin of our affairs, would at least give them a shock from which they would not easily recover, and plunge us into a train of new and still more perplexing embarrassments, than any we have hitherto felt.

I have the honor to be etc.

Geo. Washington

THOMAS SIM LEE TO GEORGE WASHINGTON ¹⁵

(Washington MSS, Library of Congress)

Annapolis, December 26th 1779

Sir,

I had the honor to receive your Excellency's Letter of the 16th Ins. in the Evening of the 24th.

The important subject of it was instantly communicated to the General Assembly of this State which happily was then sitting and I have the pleasure to assure your Excellency, the Resolution of that Honorable Body is to make the most Vigorous Exertions in sending forward every supply the State is capable of furnishing. The Enclosure ¹⁶ is a Copy of the Law passed for the purpose, which I trust is a clear manifestation of their laudable intentions, and which, judging of the disposition of other States from our own, I flatter myself, affords a well grounded hope that the wants of the Army will be speedily satisfied.

I have the Honor to be with the most respectful Attachment

Your Excellency's Most Obedient
and

Most Humble Servant

Tho. Sim Lee

¹⁵ Printed in *Archives of Maryland*, XLIII, 41.

¹⁶ Undoubtedly a copy of "An Act for the immediate supply of flour and other provisions for the army," Chapter XXXII, *Laws of Maryland*, November, 1779, session. See *Votes and Proceedings*, same session, for the Senate and the House of Delegates for evidence of passage of act in the two days preceding this letter.

PROCLAMATION ¹⁷

December 29, 1779

Whereas It is represented by the most unquestionable authority that the Army of the United States is greatly distressed for want of flour and forage, and that they will infallibly disband, unless the most speedy and extraordinary exertions are made by this State to procure these articles for their relief:

And whereas the General Assembly have enacted a law, entitled An Act for the immediate supply of flour and other provisions for the Army, which requires the utmost effort of every worthy citizen of this State to carry the same into full and speedy execution.

I do therefore most earnestly intreat, conjure, require and enjoin all Justices of the Peace, sheriffs and their deputies, constables, and all other good citizens of this State by that love of their country, that patriotic zeal and magnanimity which have hitherto distinguished their conduct in the present Glorious contest for life, liberty, and property; to exert themselves to the utmost at this critical emergency, in procuring and furnishing flour, and other provisions for the immediate relief of the army, in their present alarming distress, and rendering easy assistance to the Commissars, in carrying the said law into execution.

Thomas S. Lee

Governor

Anne Cesar, Chevalier de La Luzerne (1741-1791) the brilliant and interesting Diplomatic Minister, representing the Court of Louis XVI at Philadelphia, had succeeded Conrad Alexandre Gerard, in 1779.

He had been French Minister to Bavaria, and on leaving the United States was to be transferred to London, where he died.

Governor Lee kept up a friendly correspondence with him, thereby cementing our important alliance with France.

¹⁷ The proclamation is printed in the *Maryland Gazette* (Annapolis), December 31, 1779, and in the *Maryland Journal* (Baltimore), January 4, 1780. In each case the heading is

By His Excellency

THOMAS SIM LEE, Esquire,

Governor of Maryland,

A Proclamation.

[The concluding lines are:]

THO. SIM LEE.

GOD SAVE THE STATE.

By his Excellency's Command,

Tho. Johnson, jun. Secr'y.

The proclamation is also printed in the *Archives of Maryland*, XLIII, 43.

THOMAS SIM LEE TO THE CHEVALIER DE LA LUZERNE ¹⁸

(Hall of Records, Annapolis)

[In Council, Annapolis December 3, 1779]

We were honored with your Excellency's Letter of the 17th ulto ¹⁹ The polite Assurance that you received Pleasure when you understood the Commander of his most Christian Majesty's Squadron had made Choice of this Station because you could rely on us for Succour, communicated the highest Satisfaction. Such is our Inclination to render every Assistance in our Power to the Troops of our illustrious Ally, that nothing was necessary to prompt us to an Exertion for their Relief, but a Communication of their Wants and sufferings. Our Duty seconded by our Attachment to Friends who have bravely fought and bled in the Cause of Liberty, lead us to consider their Distresses as our Own, and make our Exertions to provide the Sick and wounded with suitable Lodgings and proper Sustenance, the most pleasing Task. Victualling the Squadron is certainly an important Object and demands our utmost Endeavours to enable Monsr DeGrasse or any other French Commander, to procure full and Speedy Supplies for the Use of the Fleet. The Congratulation of your Excellency, is flattering. Convinced that America is interested in the judicious Appointments of your King, it gives us infinite Pleasure in felicitating you and United America, on your Excellency's Appointment, which alone can console us for the Loss of your worthy Predecessor, whose Goodness of Heart impelled him, on every Occasion to exert his extraordinary Abilities in promoting such Measures as tended, not only to render the present happy Connexion between France and America permanent, but to secure the Happiness and Independence of the Latter. We have the Honor to be &^{ca}

{Your Excellency's Most Obedient

{and

{Most Humble Servants

{Tho Sim Lee}

CHEVALIER DE LA LUZERNE TO THOMAS SIM LEE ²⁰

(Hall of Records, Annapolis)

Philadelphia, Dec. [8?] 1779

[Sir,]

I have the honor of reporting to you a rumor from New York, which can be trusted. His Majesty's vessels and other craft at present in Chesa-

¹⁸ Printed in *Archives of Maryland*, XLIII, 29-30.

¹⁹ The letter of November 17, 1779, is in the Hall of Records, Annapolis. See *Calendar of Maryland State Papers*, No. 3, *The Brown Books* (Annapolis, 1948), nos. 251 and 252.

²⁰ Translation of letter printed in French in *Archives of Maryland*, XLIII, 383-384. See *Brown Books*, nos. 257 and 258.

peake Bay would seem to be actually menaced by the fleet and debarking troops at Sandy Hook.

In these circumstances I cannot but rely on Your Excellency, and with confidence in the good will you have already manifested, I beg you to act in concert with the Marquis Viomenil²¹ (or any other officers commanding His Majesty's Vessels in Chesapeake Bay) and procure him the means of defending the position he may have chosen.

I received, Sir, the letter with which you honored me the 3rd of this month. I was touched by the sentiments it contained, and I beg you to transmit my thanks to the representatives of the State of which you are Governor.

I have no news of the arrival of H.[is] E.[xcellency] the Count de Grasse²² in your Bay, but I can well count in advance on the proofs of affection and friendship this Officer, and any other French Commander would receive from You and the citizens of Maryland.

I look upon every occasion of consolidating the union that exists between our two nations as a special happiness.

I will transmit to M. Gerard your kind messages to him, and I hope my attachment for United America will justify that which you have so kindly addressed to me.

With respectful attachment I am, Sir, the very humble and very obedient servant of your Excellency

[Chevalier de La Luzerne

[His Excellency Thos. Sim Lee Esq.]

THOMAS SIM LEE TO THOMAS JEFFERSON²³

(Hall of Records, Annapolis)

In Council Annapolis 20th. Decr. 1779

Sir.

The enclosed is a Copy of Intelligence, this Moment received by this Board, from his Excellency the Chevalier De la Luzerne.²⁴ We have taken the speediest Method of conveying it to your Excellency, under an Impression of the Propriety of giving you the earliest Intimation of the Design of the Enemy

We have the Honor to be &c.

[Your Excellency's

[Most Humble and Obedient Servants

[Tho Sim Lee]

²¹ Antoine Charles du Houx, Baron de Viomenil, (1728-1792) was second in command under Rochambeau at Yorktown. He was fatally wounded when protecting Louis XVI in 1792.

²² Francois Joseph Paul, Count de Grasse.

²³ Printed in Boyd, *Jefferson*, III, 238, and *Archives of Maryland*, XLIII, 38-39.

²⁴ The enclosure is a copy of the preceding letter. For Jefferson's reply (December 26) to Lee's letter, see Boyd, *Jefferson*, III, 243-244.

THOMAS SIM LEE TO GEORGE WASHINGTON

(Washington MSS, Library of Congress)

In Council Annapolis 3rd February 1780

Sir:

We have given Permission to Mrs. Chamier, Widow of Daniel Chamier Esquire deceased, to bring her Household Furniture, Wearing Apparel, and other Goods mentioned in a List annexed thereto, from New York, to Hampton Road in Virginia.

We are induced from Motives of Compassion, and the generous Conduct of her late Husband, to many of our Prisoners, to grant her Leave, and to solicit your Excellency's Interposition, to obtain her the desired Indulgence, if you esteem it consistant with Propriety.

We are with the utmost Respect
Your Excellency's
Most Humble Serv.^{ts}

Tho. Sim Lee

His Exc^y Gen^l. Washington

GEORGE WASHINGTON TO THOMAS SIM LEE ²⁵

(Washington MSS, Library of Congress)

Head Quarters, Morris Town, February 19, 1780

Sir:

About the latter end of December I had the honor to receive a letter from His Excellency Governor Johnson ²⁶ dated 27th October [1779], in which he proposed an arrangement for the three companies of Artillery belonging to the State of Maryland, and asks my opinion upon it.

As General Knox,²⁷ who is at the head of the Artillery, is, consequently, best acquainted with its interior circumstances and can best judge of the operation of any changes which might take place, I communicated the letter to him to know his sentiments.

I beg leave to add that my sentiments correspond with his, and that the mode he recommends appears to me well calculated to do justice to the State of the three companies and to promote the general good of the service.

It is essential to have the corps that compose the army upon one foundation and regulated by general principles.

The contrary is productive of innumerable inconveniences.

This makes me wish the idea of erecting the four companies into a separate corps under the command of a Major, may be relinquished.

²⁵ Printed in Fitzpatrick, *Washington*, XVIII, 31-32. ("The draft is in the writing of Alexander Hamilton."—Fitzpatrick.)

²⁶ Thomas Johnson, Jr. (1732-1819), who served as governor from 1777 to 1779.

²⁷ Henry Knox (1750-1806), subsequently Washington's Secretary of War.

If this is agreeable to the views of the State, I shall be happy its intentions may be signified as speedily as possible to Congress, that the incorporation and arrangement may be carried into execution.

I have the honor to be etc.

Geo. Washington

THOMAS SIM LEE TO GEORGE WASHINGTON ²⁸

(Washington MSS, Library of Congress)

Annapolis March 23, 1780

Sir,

We have had the honor of receiving your Excellency's Letters of the 19th & 20th Ultimo. and 10th of the Current Month with their several inclosures, every [one] of which shall be immediately laid before the Honorable General Assembly now about to meet.

The Recruiting Officers in this State have not had the success we wished, yet they have procured a sufficient Number to lessen our Deficiency considerably and should the Legislature continue our Recruiting six or eight weeks beyond the time limited for its Duration, we should have reason to expect our Quota will be nearly if not entirely compleat in that Space.

We have the Honor to be,
with sentiments of the most
perfect personal respect,
esteem and attachment

Your Excellency's
Most Humble Obe. Servant
Tho. Sim Lee

To His Ex.

George Washington

THOMAS SIM LEE TO THOMAS JEFFERSON ²⁹

(Hall of Records, Annapolis)

Sir

In Council Annapolis 23d. Feby. 1780.

We had the Honor to receive your Excellency's Letter of the 30th. Jany.³⁰ The Necessity which constrained our Assembly to enact a Law, the extensive Operation of which has interfered with the Purchases made

²⁸ Printed in *Archives of Maryland*, XLIII, 118.

²⁹ Printed in Boyd, *Jefferson*, 303-304, and *Archives of Maryland*, XLIII, 95.

³⁰ Jefferson to Lee, Jan. 30, 1780, printed in Boyd, *Jefferson*, III, 279-280. Jefferson complained that some 1,400 barrels of flour purchased by an agent of Virginia had been seized under provisions of a Maryland law, although Governor Johnson had previously granted permission for the purchase of 2,000 barrels for the use of Virginia troops.

by your Agent, for the Subsistence of the Military of your State, we must deplore, and can assure you that an anxious Solicitude for the Welfare of the United States and an Opinion that nothing short of the most vigorous and sudden Exertions, could procure an immediate and full Supply for our distressed Army, were the only Motives which prompted them to make it so general. We are satisfied it is not the Intention of the Act, to provide Supplies for State Troops, because, when it was made, it was not known that the Military of any particular State was in Distress. The Object of the Assembly being an immediate and full Supply for the Army, we cannot admit your Exposition of the Law, because it would, in some Degree, counteract the Purpose of it and because we think the Word "others" was inserted with a view of including every Person in whose Possession any Flour or Wheat was found and may well comprehend the Agent of Virginia; and that, unless such Construction is made, as there is no other Person except the Agent of the Marine of France (whose Flour is also deemed seizable) to whom it can relate, that Word would be deprived of its Effect, and a well known Principle in expounding Act of the Legislature, would be infringed, that a Law ought to be so construed that no Word should be rendered void or insignificant if it can be prevented. We must further observe that the Intention of the Assembly ought to prevail, which is to be collected from the Cause or Necessity which induced them to make the Law. We cannot esteem it necessary to enter into a minute Discussion of the present Question or to resort to nice and subtil Reasoning to justify an Exertion which was requisite to prevent the numerous Calamities which must result from the Dissolution of the Continental Army. We are sensible it is the mutual Interest of both States to preserve the Harmony that subsists between them which, added to our Desire to contribute all we possibly can to the Relief of your Distresses, make us wish to receive Information from Congress or His Excellency General Washington, that the Army is supplied, that we may have it in our Power to restore your Flour, before you feel any Inconveniencies from the Seizure of it. Our Assembly will meet the second Day of March, when your Excellency's Letter will be laid before them for their Consideration.

We are &c.

Your Excellency's

[Most Humble and Obedient Servants

[Tho Sim Lee]

GEORGE WASHINGTON TO THOMAS SIM LEE ⁸¹

(Hall of Records, Annapolis)

Head Quarters, March 10, 1780.

Sir: Since I had the Honor of writing to Your Excellency on the 20th Ulto. I have obtained Returns of some Corps, which I had not then. I

⁸¹ Printed in Fitzpatrick, *Washington*, XVIII, 102.

find there are in Moylan's ³² Regiment of Light Dragoons a few Men belonging to the State of Maryland, of which I inclose You a particular Return, specifying the terms for which they stand engaged.

I have received within a few days past the Honor of Your Excellency's Letter of the 3d of last month. In consequence, I have informed General Gist ³³ that a Flag shall be furnished to convey Your passport to New York, respecting Mrs Chamier's furniture &c, and I very much wish that She may receive them safe. Her peculiar circumstances and the generosity of Mr Chamier in his life time to our prisoners, as has been frequently mentioned, seem to have given Mrs Chamier a good claim to the indulgence the Council have granted.

I have the Honor, etc.

[Geo. Washington]

THOMAS SIM LEE TO WILLIAM SMITH ³⁴

(Yale University Library)

In Council Annapolis 22d. Apl. 1780

Sir:

We have sent Permissions to load the Vessels mentioned in your Letter of the 20th Inst. with Flour for the Use of the Fleet and Army of his most Christian Majesty in the West Indies.³⁵

It is not now in our Power to fix the Time of the Delivery of the Flour allotted for the French by the State, but shall endeavour to have it done as soon as possible. We have wrote to Mr. Dallam ³⁶ to deliver to you and your Order, the French Wheat and Flour seized by him and shall direct the Commissioners of the several Counties that have made Seizures of the French Flour, to restore it to you: enclosed is an Order for that Purpose on the Commissioners of Baltimore County

We are Sir

Your mo. obedt. Servts.

Tho. Sim Lee

³² Stephen Moylan (1737-1811), who organized a regiment of cavalry at Washington's request in December, 1776.

³³ Mordecai Gist (1742-1792).

³⁴ Printed in *Archives of Maryland*, XLIII, 149-150. The correspondent's name does not appear on the manuscript but is identified in the *Archives*.

³⁵ The French fleet and army of Louis XVI.

³⁶ Richard Dallam. This letter, printed in *Archives of Maryland*, XLIII, 149, is also dated April 22.

THOMAS SIM LEE TO JOSEPH REED ³⁷
(Historical Society of Pennsylvania)

In Council Annapolis 23rd June 1780

Sir

We received your favor of the 16th and have laid it with the Resolution of your Excellency & Council before the General Assembly. As soon as the Result of their deliberation thereon, is made known to Us, We shall communicate it to your Excellency. We are sensible that your design, in laying the Embargo, may be frustrated unless a similar Resolution is adopted by this State, and therefore we should not have hesitated in the Recess of the Assembly, to have imposed such a Restriction, as would have prevented the evil suggested in your Letter.

Nothing has a stronger Tendency to produce that Harmony, so desirable between our States, as mutual Endeavours to facilitate the Execution of Measures, concerted by either, for the General good, and being under that impression, we shall on every occasion chearfully co-operate with your Board, in furthering them.

We are with perfect
respect & Esteem
Your Excellency's
Mo. Obed. & Mo.
Hble. Serv^{ts}.

Tho. Sim Lee

To
His Exc'y. Jos. Reed, Esq.,
President of the State
of Pennsylvania

GEORGE WASHINGTON TO THOMAS SIM LEE ³⁸
(Washington MSS, Library of Congress)

Headquarters

Bergen County [, N. J.]

July 26th, 1780

To Governor Thomas Sim Lee

Sir:

I have been honored with your Excellency's favor of the 10th inclosing copies of the several laws passed by the Legislature of Your State, for

³⁷ Printed in *Archives of Maryland*, XLIII, 203, and *Pennsylvania Archives*, Series 1, VIII, 354. Reed's letter of June 16, printed in *ibid.*, 330, states that the effect of an embargo on shipping designed to fill army quotas and preserve supplies is lost because Pennsylvania men go to the port of Baltimore.

³⁸ Original in Hall of Records, Annapolis; see *Brown Books*, no. 366. Printed in Fitzpatrick, *Washington*, XIX, 255.

procuring the Supplies of Men, provisions, and Carriages required by the Hon^{ble} the Committee of Cooperation in conjunction with me.

The readiness with which these laws were passed, and the pointed attention your Excellency seems determined to pay to the due execution of them, are happy presages that they will be Speedily and fully carried into effect.

I have the honor to be etc.

Geo. Washington

Baron de Kalb, a Bavarian by birth, received his training in the French army, where he was created Major General. On his arrival with Lafayette, whom he had accompanied at the request of Louis XVI, he was appointed Major General in the American army, where his experience proved of great value. His first winter was spent with Washington at Valley Forge.

BARON DE KALB TO THOMAS SIM LEE
(Washington MSS, Library of Congress)

Camp on Deep River July 9th 1780

Sir.

Major Steward⁸⁹ being willing to Employ himself in any one way conducing to the good of the Service, I thought proper to send him to Maryland for various purposes viz:

To Collect all such men as staid behind, or deserted since the Division went to the Southward of your State, together with the Sick or recruits actually in the State or on the Road, and to march them to Camp. He will be able to give an Exact account to your Excellency of my Situation in Respect to numbers and Provisions. The Scarcity of this last Article is very distressing and will in all Probability prevent my going nearer the Enemies Lines. Being obliged to send the greatest part of the Troops out for Supplies I hardly could obtain any thing this long time but by Military Authority. I beg your Excellency's particular attention to what Major Steward will propose on the Subject.

I could wish also the Legislative and Executive Powers of the State would approve of his proposals for a Body of Light horse to be formed for the service, either in this Southern Army or in the Main Army.

He will mention also to your Excellency the reduction of the number of your Regiments, which I think would be very beneficial on many accounts, these to be incorporated to return again to their own respective Corps as soon as they could be nearly compleated. It would save immense Expense, promote the Service and lessen the Baggage. several Methods might be adopted to Effect the same. Major Steward can give my Opinion fully on the Matter, in case it was approved of. Your

⁸⁹ John Stewart (d. 1782), of Maryland, who by Act of Congress a year earlier had received a silver medal for distinguished service.

Excellency will prescribe the most eligible way to do it. It will be next to impossible to keep the field if no Method is fastened upon to supply the Troops.

With great respect I have the honor
to be

Your Excellency's
Mo. obed^t. & very hble. serv.
Baron de Kalb

His Excellency
Thomas Sim Lee Esq
Governor of the State of
Maryland

THOMAS SIM LEE TO DELEGATES IN CONGRESS ⁴⁰
(Papers of Continental Congress, National Archives)

In Council Annapolis 27th July 1780

Gentlemen.

We have enclosed you a Copy of a Letter from the Baron De Kalb, addressed to this Board. He represents the Maryland Division to be in great Distress for Want of Provisions; the Scarcity of which will prevent them from approaching nearer the Enemy's Lines, unless proper Measures are taken to supply them. We esteem it necessary that this Representation should be laid before Congress, in Order that some Mode may be pointed out to furnish them immediately, which is impracticable by this State, the Distance being so great; and if it could be done, the Expense would be enormous. It certainly would not be inconvenient to the States of North Carolina and Virginia to provide for their Subsistence. We have, upon all Occasions, exerted ourselves to take Care of the Troops of other States, marching through this. As we are not invested with competent Authority to carry into Effect, his Proposals of forming a Body of Light Horse for the Service in the Southern ⁴¹ or Main Army, and reducing the Number of Regiments in the Maryland Line; we did not think it necessary to consider the Propriety of them, but have submitted those Subjects to the Consideration of Congress.

We are

Gentlemen

with perfect Respect and Esteem

Your obed^t. Serv^{ts}.

Tho. S. Lee

⁴⁰ Record copy in Hall of Records, Annapolis. Printed in *Archives of Maryland*, XLIII, 235-236. For enclosure, see preceding letter (July 9).

⁴¹ The word "Southern" is omitted in the *Archives*.

THOMAS SIM LEE TO SAMUEL HUNTINGTON ⁴²
 (Papers of Continental Congress, National Archives)

In Council Annapolis 24th July 1780

Sir;

Last Evening We had the Honor to receive by Express your Excellency's Letter of the 29rd ult.⁴³ with a Resolution of Congress of the same Date directing Warrants to be drawn in Favor of the Treasurer of the United States,⁴⁴ on the Treasurer of the several States from New Hampshire to Maryland inclusive for their respective proportions of the ten Million of Dollars specially called for by the Resolution of the 19th May last. When that Resolution, and the Letter accompanying it, were received the general Assembly was not sitting and we were induced, from the urgent necessity of complying with it, to appoint persons, in the several Counties of this State, to solicit a Loan of our proportion of that Sum; and to prevent as far as possible the Evils that might result from a Failure, We convened the general Assembly immediately, in order, that the most efficacious Measures might be adopted to procure it. The Resolution and Letter were laid before them and several Laws enacted for the purpose of obtaining the Quota of this State. In consequence of which and the Assessment Acts not more than 200000 Dollars have been drawn into our Treasury, beyond what, We have advanced for the Use of the Continental Army, which, We can assure your Excellency, though We cannot precisely ascertain the Quantum, is far from being inconsiderable. The 8th Instant We sent by Express 200000 Dollars to the Continental Treasurer and wrote to the Delegates of the State on the Subject of the Requisition of the 19th May.⁴⁵

It is with the utmost regret We inform Congress of our Inability to comply with their earnest and pressing Application; Nothing could in the least alleviate the poignant Anxiety We feel from contemplating the Miseries that must ensue, a Dissolution of the Army, or a Suspension of the Operations of this present Campaign, but a Consciousness that the Failure of the Supply required is not imputable to Supineness or Unwillingness in this State to render every Assistance, but the want of Time

⁴² (1731-1796), of Connecticut, president of the Continental Congress, 1779-1780; signer of the Declaration of Independence; and Governor of his State.

⁴³ On June 20 Washington wrote to the President of Congress (Fitzpatrick, *Washington*, XIX, 34-38), mentioning, among other matters, the shortage of shirts and other necessary supplies. On June 23, the Congress ordered an extract of the General's letter be sent by express to each of the States "from New Hampshire to Maryland, inclusive, and that the executive powers be most earnestly requested to forward on the supplies of men and provisions with the utmost expedition, and transmit to Congress and the committee at head quarters, with all possible despatch, an account of the proceedings of their respective states, on which the Commander in Chief can rely, and by which he may be enabled to regulate his future operations."

⁴⁴ Michael Hillegas (1729-1804), of Pennsylvania.

⁴⁵ Maryland's share of \$10,000,000 requisition was \$1,234,350. See *Journals of the Continental Congress*, XVII, 437.

to execute the Laws and in some Measure to the Scarcity of Money to answer the various Demands incessantly made on the People to support Government and to provide Men, Money and Provision for the Army of the States. We can assure Congress that the full Sum required will be forwarded to the Treasury of the United States as procured, and that our Attention will not be remitted but every Exertion made to facilitate the procurement of it. The Expedient of borrowing has been resorted to with such frequency and our Credit has received fresh Wound from our not complying punctually with our Engagements, that We can expect to derive little or no Relief from the Adoption of it in future.

We have transmitted herewith a Copy of the Act for sinking the Quota required by Congress of this State of the Bills of Credit emitted by Congress.⁴⁶

We have the honor to be with perfect Respect & Esteem
Your Excellency's Most Obed. Hble. Serv.^{ts}

Tho. S. Lee

His Excellency Sam Huntington
President of Congress

John Hanson was in 1780 one of Maryland's delegates to the Continental Congress in Philadelphia, of which body he was later appointed President.

A chief duty was to keep Governor Lee informed of the progress of the war, as news of it reached Congress, both as to facts and rumors.

A biography of him, published lately, speaks of very few of his letters surviving.⁴⁷ In our collection, however, there are fifty-six, written to Governor Lee during this period.

His statue has been placed in Statuary Hall, in the Capitol in Washington, one of the Maryland patriots chosen, the other being Charles Carroll of Carrollton.

JOHN HANSON TO THOMAS SIM LEE

(T. S. Lee Collection)

Philadelphia

July 25th 1780

Dear Sir

I am favored with yours by the last post; be pleased to present my Compliments to Mrs. Lee, and tell her her Commands shall be executed—
Tho' the best kind of Chariot was made a month or six weeks ago,

⁴⁶ "An Act to procure a loan," *Laws of Maryland*, June, 1780, Chapter II.

⁴⁷ J. Bruce Kremer, *John Hanson of Mulberry Grove* (New York, 1938), p. 134. See also biographical sketches in *D.A.B.*, VIII, 231-232, and *Biographical Directory of the American Congress* (Washington, 1950), p. 1264.

for 150 £ hard money, the price is now from 200 to 220—if you are willing to give this price, be pleased to let me know, and I will engage one of the best kind immediately, and you may get it by the middle or end of September.

There is a second hand Coach to be sold for 200 £ hard. I understand it has seen wear six years—I have examined it, the wheels are almost new, and the Harness altogether so—the Body is very good, and every part of the Carriage appears to be strong and in good order. The lining is a green Silk Damask. The Cushions are a good deal worn, but the man will engage to furnish new ones of the same with the lining. It appears to be rather heavy, and the shape of the Body not altogether in the modern taste—tho' it looks well, being genteely painted. But I would rather advise your having a new one made, or a new chariot, rather than purchase this—you will then be sure of a good one, and agreeable to your own fancy. You will let me hear from you on the subject by the next post. The sooner the better.

There was an Embarkation of Troops from New York last week, and a fleet of Ships of War and other vessels, amounting to 61 to 62, sailed from the Hook, Wednesday last, Steering as far as they could be seen, about a South East Course.

Various are the Conjectures respecting their destination. Some are of opinion they are gone to the West Indies to reinforce Admiral Rodney ⁴⁸ who, it is said, has lately met with a severe drubbing by the Combined fleets having lost 4 Ships. A 74 sank ⁴⁹ and three taken, and the rest drove into St. Lucia, some in a shattered condition. Others are of opinion (which I think the most probable) that their object is Rhode Island. The Superiority they have at present, and the number of Troops they may spare from New York for so short an Expedition, may induce them to attempt something before the present fleet and army there can be reinforced. A few days will clear us our Doubts.

With great esteem and respect

I am Dear Sir,

Your most humble Serv^t.

John Hanson

(To be continued in the June number.)

⁴⁸ Sir George Rodney.

⁴⁹ A 74-gun vessel.

SPOILS, SOILS, AND SKINNER

By HAROLD A. BIERCK, JR.

I.

"I WANT a Young Man's Companion," says a gentleman to a bookseller:—"Then here's my daughter," replies the other."—so went a filler in John Stuart Skinner's *American Farmer*.¹ In a more serious mood the Baltimorean might have inserted "I want a more varied agriculture; I want to spread American democracy," and replied, "Then look to Latin America," for Skinner, scion of an old Maryland family,² plunged his multi-editorial pen, supported his purse, and prodded many a plowman in aiding and abetting Latin-American independence and inter-American agricultural exchange.

Famed as America's pioneer farm journalist, this agricultural confessor of Jefferson, Madison, Thomas Pickering, Edmund Ruffin, John Taylor, and David Porter,³ edited the *American Farmer* from 1819 to 1830 when he sold out for \$20,000.⁴ One

¹ *The American Farmer; devoted to agriculture, horticulture and rural life*. First series, 15 vols. (Baltimore, April 2, 1819-March 7, 1834), XI, 93; hereinafter cited as *A. F.* Skinner served as publisher and editor from April 2, 1819, to August 27, 1830, and as editor May 29, 1839, to August 18, 1841.

² Sketches of Skinner's life, frequently in error as to details, appear in the following: *Dictionary of American Biography*, XVII, 199-200; E. M. Ridout, "Col. John Stewart Skinner (1788-1851)," *Patriotic Marylander*, I (1915), 49-54; Liberty Hyde Bailey (ed.), *Cyclopedia of American Agriculture* (15 vols. N. Y. Macmillan, 1930-35, 15 vols., XIV, 72-73; W. E. Ogilvie, *Pioneer Agricultural Journalists* (Chicago, 1927), 3-9; A. O. Craven, "The Agricultural Reformers of the Ante-Bellum South," *American Historical Review*, XXXIII (1928) 302-314; *Baltimore Sun*, February 17, 1935; *Appleton's Cyclopaedia of American Biography* (6 vols. New York, 1888), V, 545; Harry W. Smith, *A Sporting Family of the Old South* (Albany, 1936), 8-14. The bulk of the information in the above is included in Ben P. Poore, "Biographical Notice of John Stuart Skinner," *The Plough, the Loom, and the Anvil* (10 vols. Philadelphia, 1848-57), VII, 1-20.

³ J. S. Skinner to James Madison, August 3, 1822, in Madison Papers (Library of Congress); Skinner's extensive correspondence with David Porter is located in part in the David Porter Papers (Library of Congress); see also Harold T. Pinkett, "The American Farmer, A pioneer Agricultural Journal, 1819-1834," *Agricultural History*, XXIV (1950), 146-150, and *Farmer's Register* (Edmund Ruffin, ed.), III, 316, 392, IX, 156-158.

⁴ Poore, "Biographical Notice," 4; Albert L. Demaree, *The American Agricultural Press, 1819-1860* (New York, 1941).

year earlier he had begun the *American Turf Register and Sporting Magazine*,⁵ sold it in 1835 for \$10,000 and returned as editor but not owner to the *Farmer*, May, 1839-August, 1841. Following a stay in Washington, Horace Greeley called him and "the Southern men followed him . . . and continued to profit by his efforts"⁶ to his other papers, the Greeley-owned *Monthly Journal of Agriculture and Farmer's Library* (New York, 1845-1848) and his own Philadelphia published and H. C. Carey inspired, *The Plough, the Loom, and Anvil* (1848-1851). His will to write enlightened the dog-lover and the huntsman—he "was born with a love of field sports"⁷—and the sheepman.⁸ His *Essay on Ass and Mule* established the worth of those lowly beasts from South America, and his *Curso elemental de agricultura para el uso de los colegios y escuelas populares* was an innovation in both Americas.⁹ Midst frequent calls to address agricultural societies from Massachusetts to Louisiana,¹⁰ he revised, wrote, and edited treatises on milch cows, farriery, and veterinarianship.¹¹ Extensive and profitable as well was the translating and editing of John S. Skinner—the unheralded proponent of a superior agricultural system.

Born on a Maryland farm in Calvert County on February 22, 1788, the future "Ruffian, patriot, and philanthropist . . ." as John Quincy Adams was to call him,¹² was fathered by a gentleman of "old-fashioned common sense, mechanical ingenuity, and

⁵ Bertha L. Heilbron, "The American Turf Register and Sporting Magazine," *Minnesota History*, XIV (1933), 421-444.

⁶ D.A.B., XVII, 199; Craven, "The Agricultural Reformers," 309; *Plough, Loom, and Anvil*, IV, 348. Quotation is Craven's.

⁷ Statement of son, F. G. Skinner, quoted in Margery Whyte, "The Baltimore Hunt Club." *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XXXV (1940), 162. Skinner's *The Dog and the Sportsman* (Philadelphia, 1845) was unique in its day.

⁸ *Essay on Sheep* (Philadelphia, 1844).

⁹ *Essay on Ass and Mule* published with William Youatt, *The Horse* (Philadelphia, 1843).

¹⁰ The *American Farmer* and the *Plough, Loom and Anvil* contain numerous references to such activities and print several of his addresses some of which were reprinted in pamphlet form—see *Address by J. S. Skinner before the Agricultural Society of New Castle County Delaware* (1843), and *Address delivered before the Massachusetts Charitable Mechanics Association* (Boston, 1850).

¹¹ "Introductory Remarks on the cow and the dairy," in François Guénon, *A Treatise on Milch Cows* (14 ed. N.Y., Saxton, 1862); Richard Mason's *Farmer and Stud-book . . . with a Supplement . . .* By J. S. Skinner (Philadelphia, 1848) in John Badcock, *Farriery* (Philadelphia, 1848); *Notes to Francis Clater, Every Man his Own Farrier* (Philadelphia, 1845) and *Supplement to Francis Clater, Everyman His Own Cattle Doctor* (Philadelphia, 1848).

¹² Charles F. Adams (ed.), *Memoirs of John Quincy Adams, comprising portions of his Diary from 1795-1843* (Philadelphia, 1874-1877), IV, 515.

... openhearted benevolence. . . ." ¹³ Educated at Charlotte Hall, St. Mary's County, he read law under the father of Reverdy Johnson, was appointed reading clerk of the Maryland legislature, and Notary Public to the city of Annapolis while still a minor. ¹⁴ In 1809, the year his father died, he was admitted to the bar of Maryland. ¹⁵ Three years later he married Elizabeth Glen Davis, step-daughter of Theodorick A. Bland of Baltimore, ¹⁶ and, by special commission, was appointed by Madison as Inspector of British and European mails and mail packets arriving at Annapolis. ¹⁷ On March 26, 1814, he reluctantly—he was fearful of being shipped out—accepted from Madison a purser's commission in the Navy ¹⁸ at \$40 a month "on the ground of personal acquaintance, confidence, and friendship." ¹⁹

While in naval service he performed two dramatic acts. A Revere-like ride enabled him to warn the capital of the British approach in August, 1814. ²⁰ Returning to Baltimore, he was appointed by the Department of State and the Commissary General of Prisoners to act as Agent for Exchange of Prisoners. As such, and accompanied by barrister Francis Scott Key, Skinner set out to interview the British Admiral Sir George Cockburn. This mission accomplished, the Admiral revealed his plan to pour shot into Fort McHenry, and just prior to the bombs' bursting, Skinner and his companion demanded they be returned, so Skinner wrote thirty-five years later

To our own vessel—one of Ferguson's Norfolk packets, under our own "Star-Spangled Banner." . . . It was from *her* deck, in view of Fort McHenry, that we witnessed . . . [the bombardment]; and the song, which was written the night after we got back to Baltimore . . . in a [hotel] room was but a versified and almost literal transcript of our expressed hopes

¹³ Poore, "Biographical Notice," 2.

¹⁴ Theoderick Bland to Sister, June 8, 1813, Theoderick Bland Papers (Maryland Historical Society); *Dictionary of American Biography*, XVII, 199.

¹⁵ *Plough, Loom, and Anvil*, IV, 348.

¹⁶ Smith, *Sporting Family*, 45-46, wherein is quoted his letter to Bland requesting her hand.

¹⁷ His services in these posts—an interesting tale in itself—are related in his letters to the Secretary of State located in Department of State: Miscellaneous Letters Series, National Archives of the United States, Washington. Hereinafter cited as DS: Misc.

¹⁸ *American State Papers. Class VI, Naval Affairs* (4 vols. Washington, 1836), I, 348, 368; Edward W. Callahan, *List of Officers of the Navy of the United States . . . 1775 to 1900* (New York, 1901), p. 500.

¹⁹ *Plough, Loom, and Anvil*, I, 254.

²⁰ Poore, "Biographical Notice," 3.

and apprehensions. . . . Calling on its accomplished author the next morning, he handed it to the undersigned, who passed it to the *Baltimore Patriot* and through it to immortality.²¹

With the conclusion of that inconclusive war with Britain, Skinner traded government jobs. Due to powerful and good friends he was made postmaster at Baltimore in 1816, which post he held until 1839.²² Only his zeal in the apprehension of a mail robber and a temporary falling behind in payments to the government barred his success in handling the mails. In the first instance he exceeded his authority by offering a \$1,000 reward, but he defended himself by saying that the Postmaster General "would make much allowance if he had witnessed the excitement produced . . . by the arrival and exhibition at the Post Office Door of the dead body of the [mail] driver. . . ." ²³ But the Postmaster General was taciturn. Bodies did not affect him. Skinner was told that "a great reward does not appear to be necessary in such a case and the . . . [customary] sum of three hundred dollars is believed to be fully adequate." ²⁴ His arrears are something of a mystery for postal records do not reveal them. In his private correspondence with John McClean, Postmaster General, he confesses the debt in an April, 1828, letter, and thirteen months after, states he has repaid in full.²⁵ A decade later this sinecure ran afoul of Van Buren's whims. Bland pleaded with the President that his son-in-law's removal would be attended with the "most serious embarrassment" but if a change was to be made Skinner should be given time to find "self-support." ²⁶ Jackson's heir shot back that a new appointment was coming "but not because of unfriendly feelings towards Skinner." ²⁷ But Skinner held the last "postal" card. Harrison not only reappointed him in 1841 but

²¹ J. S. Skinner, "Incidents of the War of 1812. From the *Baltimore Patriot*," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XXXII (1937), 340-347. Skinner reported personally to Madison respecting his meeting with Cockburn in a letter dated August 13, 1814, Madison Papers.

²² Poore, "Biographical Notice," 7; *D.A.B.*, XVII, 200. He rejected Madison's offers of a judgeship in the West and the position of secretary of state of Arkansas (*Plough, Loom, and Anvil* IV, 349).

²³ Skinner to A. Bradley, Adjutant Postmaster General, July 3, 1820, DS: Misc.

²⁴ R. Meigs to Skinner, April 24, 1820, *ibid.*

²⁵ April 18, 1828, May 8, 1829, John McClean Papers (Library of Congress).

²⁶ March 18, 1839, in Bernard C. Steiner, ed., "Van Buren's Maryland Correspondents (Part II)," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, IX (1914), 254.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 255.

made him an assistant to the Postmaster General. Four years later, lured by Greeley's gold, he gave up the mails.²⁸

Being a man of self-perpetuating energy Skinner found that editing and postmastering did not consume all his time. He had many other pens in the inkwell. As corresponding-secretary of the Maryland Agricultural Society he promoted various exhibits, one of which, held in June, 1825, displayed cattle and household manufactures. He invited President Adams to attend, but the dour New Englander refused to "set a precedent for being claimed as an article of exhibition at all the cattle shows throughout the Union."²⁹ As business manager for Lafayette and arranger for the Frenchman's 1824 visit to Baltimore,³⁰ Skinner tended to and planned for the sale of the 20,000-acre Florida land grant made to America's hero by Congress,³¹ while the General step-fathered the education of Skinner's eldest son in France.³² The Lafayette Institution of Baltimore—especially recommended to those who appreciated "the great value of a practical knowledge of the French and Spanish tongues, so far as to speak them for professional and business purposes"—was another Skinner enterprise in coöperation with five other apostles of practical pedagogy.³³ In keeping with his interest in the Spanish tongue Skinner insisted that Lafayette see to it that his son Frederick be thoroughly instructed in the Iberian idiom.³⁴ Still another venture was Skinner's investment in the Association for the Encouragement of Literature and the Fine Arts from which, however, he withdrew in 1838.³⁵ Ever the visionary, he was a great advocate of promoting progress. In 1830 he proposed the creation of a naval academy and was probably surprised when this was done

²⁸ Poore, "Biographical Notice," 10.

²⁹ Adams, *Memoirs*, VII, 13. Adams concluded his reply to Skinner thus: "'Seest thou a man diligent in his business.'"

³⁰ Lafayette to Skinner, November 12, 1824, New York Public Library.

³¹ *Id.* to *id.*, May 8, 1827, Maryland Historical Society; *A.F.*, XI, 23, XII, 398; Lafayette to Skinner April 28, 1837. This letter and others written by Lafayette and his sons to Skinner and his family are in the possession of Mrs. Frederick Stuart Greene of Warrenton, Virginia. The author is indebted to Mrs. Greene and to her son Mr. Francis Thornton Greene for the use of this correspondence, the inspection of the Skinner portrait and silver, and for an exceedingly pleasant visit.

³² Lafayette to Skinner, March 12, 1828, Bland Papers.

³³ *A.F.*, XI, 383.

³⁴ Lafayette to Skinner, March 12, 1828, Bland Papers.

³⁵ Skinner to B. A. Cohen, July 19, 1838, Jonathan Meredith Papers (Library of Congress).

fifteen years later;³⁶ but he was on good terms with the commodores, and Adams and Jackson honored him with an appointment as Visitor to the Academy at West Point.³⁷ Congress proved more obdurate. His petition to that body pleading for a department of agriculture in the government and advocating federal appropriations to state governments for the establishment of institutions devoted to instruction in geology, civil engineering, and agricultural mechanics was not heeded by a majority for many a year.³⁸ Service to his state was performed as a member of the House of Delegates and public representative on the Board of Directors of the Bank of Maryland.³⁹ A man of such drive and influence deserved, perhaps, better treatment at the hands of his maker and the largess of posterity. The latter hangs in the balance; the former is a matter of fact; for on March 21, 1851, while visiting Baltimore, Skinner remarked to his wife "I am in better health and feel more like myself than I have for years." A few hours later, while in the post office, mistaking a cellar door for the street exit, he fell down the stairs fracturing his skull. Murmuring "My God! Trouble will soon be over," he died shortly after.⁴⁰

As a man, writer, agriculturist, and spirited citizen, John S. Skinner was admired and doubtless scorned by many of his contemporaries. Of him Adams commented:

He is a man of mingled character, of daring and pernicious principles, of restless and rash temper, and yet of useful and honorable enterprise. Ruffian, patriot, and philanthropist are so blended in him that I cannot appreciate him without a mingled sentiment of detestation and esteem. I consider him as the originator and cause of all the Baltimore piracies which have injured and still dishonor this nation. He has infected not only that city, but the moral feelings of this whole community and the public councils of the country, to such a degree as to stay the hand of justice itself. He has embroiled us with two foreign nations whose good will it is most important to us to possess. He has been now nearly two years under indictment for being concerned in the Baltimore piracies, and has contrived to get his father-in-law appointed the Judge to decide upon them. Yet his private character is such that he has numerous and very ardent friends. He made to the Government, at a critical period, important

³⁶ Skinner to David Porter, February 2, 1830, David Porter Papers (Library of Congress).

³⁷ Poore, "Biographical Notice," 4.

³⁸ "Memorial of J. S. Skinner," *Senate Miscellaneous Document* No. 120, 30th Congress, 1st Session; *Congressional Globe*, 30th Cong., 2nd Sess., 37.

³⁹ Poore, "Biographical Notice," 13.

⁴⁰ *Baltimore Clipper*, March 22, 1851.

disclosures concerning McGregor and his Amelia Island buccaneering expedition, and he has been during the last year editor of a weekly newspaper called the *American Farmer*, devoted altogether to agricultural improvements, and which is a very valuable publication.⁴¹

Examined in the light of substantiating fact—that flesh on the bones of history—Adams' charges are more true than false. Herein lies the hitherto masked Skinner, the hater of the French, and the ardent and vocal Latin-American sympathizer. The stage was Baltimore; the cast a group of merchants, unemployed sea captains, and willing seamen. The plot—enrichment at the expense of Spanish vessels and cargoes—all undertaken under the guise, more often sincere than not, of aiding the Independents of Latin America to secure their freedom from Spain. During the years 1816-21, Baltimore became the United States mecca for Buenos Aires, Chilean, Venezuelan, and New Granadan agents. Most of these men carried blank privateering commissions. To the trade-starved commercial interests of the Maryland capital and the idle ship owners of the fast Baltimore clipper, here was an opportunity to recoup from embargoes, war-restricted commerce, and to resume a sea practice ended by the War of 1812. Privateering, illegal but profitable, reestablished the port, led to the financing of expeditions against Chile, Mexico, and Florida, the creation of mining companies, and to a major share in United States-Latin American commerce during the 1820's. That trade in the decades beyond stressed flour as an export and guano as an import to and from the nations to the South. The "piracies" of which Adams wrote set in motion a flow of silver that was broken only by the holocaust of the 1860's.⁴² "By sweeping the Spanish merchant marine from the seas the privateers . . . [were] an important factor in keeping the revolts in Latin America alive" midst the critical revolutionary years of 1816-1820.⁴³

Skinner revelled in the privateering business. He participated with his purse and protected his investment with his pen. His

⁴¹ Adams, *Memoirs*, IV, 515-516.

⁴² Baltimore privateering of this period is best discussed in Charles C. Griffin, "Privateering from Baltimore during the Spanish American Wars of Independence," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XXXV (1940), 1-25; see also Joseph B. Lockey, *Pan-Americanism, Its Beginnings* (New York, 1926), 174-176, and Laura Bornholdt, *Baltimore and Early Pan-Americanism: A Study in the Background of the Monroe Doctrine* (Northampton, 1949).

⁴³ Samuel F. Bemis, *The Latin American Policy of the United States* (New York, 1943), 45.

initiation into that "adventurous and violent occupation . . ." ⁴⁴ took place early in 1816 with the arrival of Thomas Taylor, of Wilmington, Delaware, but late of Buenos Aires. An old hand at privateering, Taylor soon ran afoul of the law, but in September he wrote an associate "I bag leave to inforom you that wat I was A Quased of by the States I have been A Quited and is a perfect Liberty at prasent." ⁴⁵ Taylor had brought six blank letters of marque authorizing privateers to sail against Spanish commerce under the Buenos Aires flag. ⁴⁶ Although the haze of illegality obscures the details of the arrangements, this much is known. There was formed in Baltimore a group known as the American Concern. Its membership varied; but Joseph Karrick, Mathew Murray, John G. Johnston, J. Gooding, Samuel Brown, Joseph Patterson, and Skinner participated at the outset and probably to the end. ⁴⁷ Bland, County Court Judge, James McCulloch, Collector of the Port, the firm of D'Arcy and Didier were well-wishers if not participants. William Pinkney and General William H. Winder served the group as counsel. ⁴⁸ The Concern's first move was to order constructed the brig *Fourth of July*. In December, 1816, she sailed to Annapolis with a crew of 20, picked up 31 additional hands and armament. At Norfolk the complement was raised to about 100, Thomas Taylor assumed command, the blue and the white was hauled to the masthead, and *El Patriota* sailed on to gather spoils. In all this vessel is known to have made three cruises under four captains, three flags, and four names before her career was terminated by litigation in 1818. The first two cruises were only moderately profitable to Skinner and the other shareholders, but the third outing, under Captain John D. Chase, netted twenty-eight prizes three of which were alone worth \$750,000. ⁴⁹

⁴⁴ Griffin, "Privateering," 2.

⁴⁵ Taylor to José M. Carrera, September 6, 1816, Archivo Carrera, Archivo Nacional de Chile, Santiago de Chile (Library of Congress photocopies). Hereinafter cited as ANC.

⁴⁶ Griffin, "Privateering," 3; L. W. Bealer, *Los corsarios de Buenos Aires* (Buenos Aires, 1937), 30; José Luciano Franco, *Política continental americana de España en Cuba, 1812-1830* (Habana, 1947), 136; *Niles' Weekly Register* (Baltimore, 1811-1849), XV, 103.

⁴⁷ Griffin, "Privateering," 6.

⁴⁸ Adams, *Memoirs*, IV, 318-319; James B. Scott (ed.), *Prize Cases Decided in the United States Supreme Court* (Oxford, 1923), 1168.

⁴⁹ Griffin, "Privateering," 22-24; Franco (*Política continental*, 152-157) relates in detail the Cuban adventures of *El Patriota*.

Other activities and profits of the Concern have joined the oblivion of success or await historical discovery. But the company was associated with many Baltimore merchant houses in ridding the West Indian and Spanish waters of Ferdinand VII's merchantmen, as there is evidence "of an interlocking directorate that made all privateering interests of the city a closely knit business group."⁵⁰ During the "silver" years of 1816-1819 a total of 21 vessels "were formally accused . . . of having been illegally outfitted at Baltimore." . . . "The damage relative to the total tonnage of Spanish merchant ships," writes the leading authority on privateering, "must have been much greater than that done by the *Alabama* and other Confederate cruisers to United States shipping."⁵¹ Spain protested violently; the Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle condemned the practice; Congress passed neutrality laws in 1817 and 1818—one of which John Randolph termed a bill to make peace between Baltimore and Spain.⁵² Foreign protests and new laws proved of small interest to the Marylanders. The press, the courts, the judge, and the popularity of the Latin American cause were their allies.

Skinner invaded the legal arena, using the press as his weapon to defend the practice of privateering. In so doing he, like Thomas Taylor and many another, was "confiding very securely in the disposition of . . . [the] government to wink at all support given to the cause of the Patriots."⁵³ Early in 1818, using the pseudonym "Franklin," Skinner issued a blast against the indictments for privateering handed out in 1817. Subsequently published in the *National Intelligencer*, his article stated that "any judge who should presume to condemn the privateersmen under South American colors could not expect to exist long, either as a judge, or as a man. . . ." ⁵⁴ This threat was dispatched to District Court Judge Houston shortly before he opened court.⁵⁵ Later that year Skinner himself was indicted when it was revealed that he was a part owner of the *Fourth of July*. "That a private

⁵⁰ Griffin, "Privateering," 6.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 8, 9.

⁵² Lockey, *Pan-Americanism*, 174; *Annals of Congress*, 14th Cong. 2nd Sess., 732.

⁵³ William Wirt to James Monroe, July 30, 1816, William Wirt Letter Books (Library of Congress).

⁵⁴ Adams, *Memoirs*, IV, 186, 319; Henry M. Brackenridge, *Voyage to Buenos Ayres, performed in the years 1817 and 1818* . . . (Baltimore, 1819), ii.

⁵⁵ Adams, *Memoirs*, IV, 317.

should threaten to murder a judge," the Secretary of State wrote in his diary, "is not very surprising."⁵⁶ Skinner's acquittal was technically owed to flaws in the District Attorney's bill of indictment, but the main reason was grounded in the fact that "the political corruption of Baltimore . . . [was] as rotten as corruption can make it."⁵⁷ The "abomination" of privateering affected virtually every federal official in the area. Glenn, the District Attorney, had a son said to be involved with the privateers; McCulloch, the port collector, was "only an enthusiast for the South Americans . . . but . . . [thought] all other men as honest as himself." The local Inspector of Revenue habitually received presents from principal importers, while Gabriel Duval, the Circuit Court Judge, was a feeble individual "over whom William Pinkney . . . the dictator of the Maryland bar . . ." domineered "like a slave-driver over his negroes." Lesser personalities refused to testify publicly. Even President Monroe was only "somewhat concerned" about the situation, leaving Adams, in fear of losing his precious Florida, to bleat of the depredations of the Baltimore clippers.⁵⁸

With the appointment of Bland as Federal district judge in November, 1819, Skinner and his associates were assured of a friend in court.⁵⁹ Yet Bland vigorously denied that he had associated with Thomas Taylor and had met with him and others at Skinner's to discuss their investments. In fact, the father-in-law, in his bid for the federal cloak, stated "he had always disapproved of the Baltimore privateering, and had deeply regretted that his kinsman, Mr. Skinner, was accused of being concerned in them."⁶⁰ Monroe and Adams agreed that Bland was innocent of any sea venturing.⁶¹ But Mr. Skinner was concerned and deeply so, and when the occasion demanded he went so far as to write Monroe on behalf of American sea captains under suspicion of piracy.⁶² That the President was sympathetic to the Baltimore postmaster is seen in his refusal to dismiss him, as demanded by the French minister, because of Skinner's public toast on July 4,

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 186.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 319.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 319, 413.

⁵⁹ Appointment and Confirmation, Bland Papers.

⁶⁰ Adams, *Memoirs*, IV, 413-414, 417.

⁶¹ Monroe to Adams, August 22, 1819, Bland Papers.

⁶² January 13, 1817, James Monroe Papers (Library of Congress).

1816, declaring the French monarch an imbecile and praising the exiled French generals.⁶³ A combination of widely scattered events brought to a gradual end this participation of merchants and some 3,000 American seamen in the Latin American revolt for freedom. By 1821 Spanish vessels were hard to find; the new republics possessed navies; and the United States Congress had made piracy a capital crime. Then, too, normal channels of commerce again provided a more enduring outlet for American capital. Privateering, moreover, was turning to piracy necessitating naval operations to rid the Iberian and Caribbean waters of the last Bluebeards. Last, but not least, United States *de jure* recognition—long sought by the very agents who brought the privateering commissions—was in the offing, making these agents reluctant to continue a practice which the Secretary of State frowned upon.

Privateering was but one activity of the Baltimoreans on behalf of the cause of freedom. Aiding and financing promising agents and generals from Spanish America was more than a pastime. The future editor was among that interested group and through his participation gained a certain degree of immortality in Chilean history. This aspect of Skinner's inter-American interest began in 1816 with the arrival of José Miguel Carrera, former Chilean President, associate of Joel R. Poinsett, and apparently agent from Chile and Buenos Aires to the United States. For eleven months the Chilean pleaded for arms, munitions, men, and money. But from New York, in July, he confessed, "I am getting no where with my objectives: many promises but no fulfillment, many desires to get rich, but none of activity."⁶⁴ Only in Maryland did he achieve success. The firm D'Arcy and Didier equipped a small expedition, while Carrera, aided by Skinner, found recruits. His efforts received good press notices and men like David Porter and Baptiste Irvine wrote of the greatness of Chile and her leaders.⁶⁵

⁶³ Monroe to Albert Gallatin, September, 1816, S. M. Hamilton (ed.), *The Writings of James Monroe* . . . (New York, 1902), V, 387; *Baltimore American*, July 6, 1816.

⁶⁴ Carrera to J. R. Poinsett, 20 de Julio, 1816, Joel R. Poinsett Papers (Historical Society of Pennsylvania).

⁶⁵ William M. Collier and Guillermo Feliú Cruz, *La primera misión de los Estados Unidos de América en Chile* (Santiago de Chile, 1926), 215-249; Miguel Varas Velázquez, "Don José Miguel Carrera en Estados Unidos," *Revista Chilena de Historia y Geografía*, III (1912), 5-33; IV (1913), 5-44; Bornholdt, *Baltimore*, 57-70.

Money, especially personal funds, escaped him. Early in November, Skinner came to his relief. On the fourth of that month he loaned Carrera \$600. Three days later the Chilean recorded in his diary that Skinner was willing to grant him \$4,000 at one hundred per cent interest payable in one year—a statement that Skinner was to reverse in 1818 by claiming that Carrera suggested the interest rate himself.⁶⁶ On November 8, Carrera received an additional \$1,400,⁶⁷ and on the twenty-fourth sent a letter and a receipt to Skinner acknowledging the loan of \$4,000 “in paper money of Baltimore for which I will pay in *pesos fuertes* with interest of 100 per cent within one year from this date.” This debt was to take precedence over all others. In the covering letter Skinner was assured that the Chilean government (then non-existent) would take care of the repayment and that the letter presented to the government or to his family would be sufficient to collect the \$8,000.⁶⁸

Skinner's dealings with Chile and the *chilenos* did not end with this transaction. The \$4,000 gain or loss furthered his “ardent admiration” for the region of which he had read in Washington Irving's translation of the Abbé Molina's *History of Chile*.⁶⁹ When news reached Baltimore that the Carrera expedition of three vessels and sixty-nine American and assorted volunteers had come to an end at Buenos Aires, Skinner's admiration for Chile lessened while his worries increased. San Martín and O'Higgins were masters in Chile, and Carrera was no friend to O'Higgins. Thus, displaying a sound knowledge of Spanish character, Skinner wrote his Chilean hero that it greatly distressed him to mention his small service but the loss of the money would be a blow to his family as it constituted a considerable part of his capital.

But as your loss, [Skinner continued], could only have resulted in an inevitable personal misfortune I give you my word as a true friend that in

⁶⁶ Varas Velázquez, “Carrera,” IV, 38; J. S. Skinner to the Supreme Director of the United States Provinces of the Río de la Plata, June 5, 1818, Archivo General de la Nación (Buenos Aires), Sección Gobierno, Estados Unidos, Sala 1, Armario 2, Anaque 4 (Library of Congress photocopies); hereinafter cited as AGN:BA.

⁶⁷ Varas Velázquez, “Carrera,” IV, 38.

⁶⁸ Letter and receipt are reproduced in Collier and Feliú Cruz, *La primera misión*, 234-235 and in Benjamín Vicuña MacKenna, *El ostracismo de los Carrera* (Valparaíso, 1860), Vol. IX of *Obras completas* (Santiago, 1938), IX, 428.

⁶⁹ Collier and Feliú Cruz, *La primera misión*, 223.

such a case I would feel the defeat of the cause more than that of the money. Irregardless, for me, the memory will always be a source of true satisfaction, that my small services have been consecrated to a foreign patriot, who, from the first moment inspired in me an unlimited confidence and friendship and to a cause that merits the happiest of conclusions.

In conclusion, he asked only for the return of the principal.⁷⁰

⁷⁰ This letter and many other entreaties are preserved in the Archivo Nacional de Buenos Aires. From another source it appears that Skinner's only request of Carrera was for a poncho which he believed to be more beautiful than the coat of mail worn by the warriors of old.⁷¹ But Carrera was to supply neither poncho nor money. His arms and munitions were taken from him in Buenos Aires; his men joined the army of San Martín. He escaped to Uruguay, schemed against O'Higgins, became involved in the internal affairs of Argentina, and was taken prisoner there and executed in 1821.⁷²

The ill-luck of Carrera coupled with a zeal to promote any nascent cause stimulated Skinner's further indulgence in the practice that was gradually to become his major occupation. Writing came naturally to him and, convinced of the desirability of Latin American freedom and supplied with information from newly arrived agents, he produced a series of articles that were to have nation-wide repercussions. Ever doubting and on this occasion misinformed, Adams attributed the outburst solely to the Carrera loan. "This private speculation," he recorded, "was the source of all the artificial excitement stirred up in the newspapers during the autumn and winter of 1817."⁷³ But Skinner's initial offering was devoted to the defense of Carrera "against the foul aspersions of [Dauxion] Lavaysee. . . ." In this he was aided by David Porter, although the latter claimed that he had "started this host of writers in favor of our taking a decided stand in the affairs of S America."⁷⁴ Jean François Dauxion-Lavaysee had accompanied Carrera with the rank of general, and in a letter in English to Skinner and another in French to the editor of the *L'Abeille Américaine*—organ of the Napoleonic exiles in the United States—vilified Carrera for having sold matériel of war for

Chile; this particular letter is reproduced in part in Collier and Feliú Cruz, *La primera misión*, 235-236.

⁷¹ Vicuña MacKenna, *El ostracismo*, 73.

⁷² Luis Galdames, *A History of Chile*. Translated and edited by Isaac J. Cox (Chapel Hill, 1941), 206-221, 460.

⁷³ *Memoirs*, V, 56.

⁷⁴ Porter to J. R. Poinsett, October 23, 1817. Poinsett Papers.

personal profit in Buenos Aires and generally deserting his own cause.⁷⁵ Skinner's next move was a series of letters addressed to Henry Clay, the great congressional champion of Latin American independence, and signed "Lautaro" after the Chilean Indian hero of conquest days. Skinner as Lautaro,⁷⁶ in his early writings of 1817, confined himself to Chile, for that country was believed to be better disposed toward the United States and possessed of a more stable government.⁷⁷ In general, he posed questions such as "What course should the United States pursue, with regard to the present struggle for independence in South America?" and provided answers, many of them repetitious and all praising the future of Chile, thereby questioning the work of San Martín and O'Higgins in that area. As Buenos Aires was dominated by Great Britain, that government should be viewed with caution was still another theme of the seven Skinner Lautaro letters which were first published in the Richmond *Enquirer*—the paper that influenced Monroe—⁷⁸ and reprinted in the Baltimore *Patriot* and many another newspaper and periodical.⁷⁹ Lautaro and his friends Porter and Baptiste Irvine, of course, were not alone in their public pleas respecting the policy of the United States toward Chile and Buenos Aires; nor were their writings always accepted as gospel.⁸⁰ The message that they carried—they "created a sensation in South America"⁸¹—resulted in the "affairs of South America . . . [becoming] a matter of debate both in the councils of the administration and in the halls of Congress."⁸² From this debate came the presidential decision to dispatch an investigating commission to Buenos Aires. One of its members was Skinner's father-in-law, who, believing that "Chile in itself . . . was of

⁷⁵ The two letters are located in ANC.

⁷⁶ "Mr. Skinner post master in Baltimore is the author of Lautaro as he is also of many other publications on the same subject." Porter to Poinsett, October 23, 1817, Poinsett Papers.

⁷⁷ Baltimore *Patriot*, September 24, 1817; Skinner's Lautaro letters are briefed in Bornholdt, *Baltimore*, 74-76.

⁷⁸ Adams, *Memoirs*, IV, 117; V, 56.

⁷⁹ Baltimore *Patriot*, September 24, 26, 27, October 3, 8, 10, 17, 1817, and see Adams, *Memoirs*, V, 56, and Arthur P. Whitaker, *The United States and the Independence of Latin America* (Baltimore, 1941), 165-166.

⁸⁰ Charles C. Griffin, *The United States and the Disruption of the Spanish Empire, 1810-1822* (New York, 1937), 157-159, lists a representative group of newspapers and writers who agreed with and argued against the Lautaro theses.

⁸¹ Whitaker, *United States*, 162.

⁸² Dexter Perkins, *The Monroe Doctrine, 1823-1826* (Cambridge, 1932), 42-43.

more consequence than Buenos Ayres . . .," was authorized to visit that country as well.⁸³

Whatever the motives of the Monroe administration in sending, at considerable cost and with much fanfare,⁸⁴ four citizens to a region torn by civil war, it is clear that one of Bland's reasons for accepting was the hope of collecting the \$4,000 owed his son-in-law. He was authorized and did indeed act as "the private agent of Skinner . . ." ⁸⁵ and made persistent efforts to collect the debt. The commission left Norfolk early in December, 1817, and upon arrival in Buenos Aires Bland petitioned Juan Martín de Pueyrredón, Supreme Director of the United Provinces of the La Plata, for payment of the loan to Carrera. Bland's appeal of April 4, 1817, was made "in behalf and as attorney in fact . . ." of Skinner and reviewed the successful efforts of Carrera to equip an expedition, emphasizing that Skinner was "not engaged in, nor in any manner connected with commercial affairs. . . ." But the postmaster was in Bland's words, "solely and exclusively activated by his ardent and zealous wishes for the success of the Patriot cause [hence] he advanced . . . the sum of four thousand dollars for the purpose of defraying the incidental expenses of the outfit of the ship, and of certain officers who embarked with Mr. Carrera. . . ." As the Buenos Aires government had seized the principal vessel and the volunteers had gone into the Buenos Aires army Bland reasoned that the Pueyrredón government had been "directly, willingly, and very essentially benefited by the money advanced by Mr. Skinner. . . ." ⁸⁶ Twelve days later he was informed that, as Skinner had applied to the government of Chile for repayment and as General San Martín had offered to mediate the matter, the Buenos Aires government could not act on the petition.⁸⁷ During the interim Bland prevailed upon his brother commissioners, Cesar Rodney and John Graham, to make a joint plea for the payment of the debt.⁸⁸ Two months later Skinner himself addressed the Buenos Aires Director. He humbly confessed that he really did not wish to mention the matter. "But my very

⁸³ Bland to [Monroe] November 15, 1817, Bland Papers.

⁸⁴ Watt Stewart, "The South American Commission, 1817-1818," *Hispanic American Historical Review*, IX (1929), 31-59.

⁸⁵ Adams, *Memoirs*, 56; Skinner to Servando Jordán, ANC.

⁸⁶ April 4, 1818, AGN:BA.

⁸⁷ [Pueyrredón] to Bland, April 16, 1818, *ibid.*

⁸⁸ April 12, 1818, *ibid.*

limited, and I may now add *reduced* circumstances, will not permit me, in justice to my Family to relinquish that which may hereafter be necessary for their substance. . . ." Trusting that Puey-redón would "make the proper representation to the Congress . . ." he concluded "you will readily appreciate the motives which ought to induce my indemnification from loss in this case with sentiments of the highest consideration and respect."⁸⁹ The same day, General William Winder, then under consideration for the position of Buenos Aires representative in the United States, also wrote the Director suggesting that "it would be politic and wise to accede to his claim. . . . I feel well satisfied," the loser at Bladensburg confessed, "that Mr. Skinner is strongly attached to your cause and that he has it in his power and in his inclination to render you very important services."⁹⁰

Bland, the only member of the commission authorized to go to Chile, parted company with his colleagues in fact-finding and set out ostensibly to examine conditions in that newly-freed republic. Upon his arrival in Santiago in May, 1818,⁹¹ he conversed officially with O'Higgins on five occasions and on dining socially with him in a house formerly owned by Carrera, O'Higgins, Bland recorded in his diary, remarked that the Carreras

were enemies of their country and no republicans; they were men whom I hated; they were bad men, but I understand that an American Mr. Skinner had lent one of them four or five thousand dollars; that money [O'Higgins continued] ought to be paid for I have heard much of the character of Mr. Skinner and his very ardent friendship towards our Country and the patriot cause, insomuch so that I love him in my heart although I have never had the honor to see [him]; here is property enough to pay that debt and I will order it to be sold for that purpose—it was a private debt which the property of the Carreras ought to pay, which they themselves ought to have paid, but as the money was lent to them under an impression that they had the authority of this country to borrow, it shall be considered as a public debt and if their property be not sufficient the balance shall be paid out of the public treasury. They have deceived a worthy and honorable individual by using the name of the nation; the nation ought therefore to pay the debt and not such [an] individual suffer—but said . . . [O'Higgins] there is no person that I know of authorized to receive payment. . . .⁹²

⁸⁹ June 5, 1818, *ibid.*

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*

⁹¹ Bland Diary, Bland Papers. The Diary is not dated.

⁹² *Ibid.*

Bland, delighted with all the Director had said, replied that both he and Ricardo de Baughan had the power of attorney but that he, as an official representative of the United States government, would prefer that Baughan handle the matter. Of the merit of the claim, Bland told the Director, there was no doubt for

it was personally and well known to me that the Patriot cause in general and Chile in particular had not a warmer, a more decided or active friend in all the U. S. than Mr. Skinner. . . . He had not only gone to the utmost extent of his pecuniary ability in lending, in this case, but he knowing of what the laws of his country would allow put all to hazard. It is sir [Bland revealed] well known that it is enough for a man to go into Mr. Skinner's house and call himself a South American Patriot to find welcome and assistance.

Whereupon, O'Higgins interrupted saying "Sir, . . . you need say no more. I know it. I have been well informed of the character of Skinner. I love and respect that man. The debt ought to be paid and it shall be paid as you shall see. It may be it cannot be done in a day but it shall be done in a month." A few days later Bland and Baughan visited the Director, presented the Carrera note, and their powers of attorney. His ardour having cooled somewhat, O'Higgins denied that the government was liable as Carrera had had no right to act in the name of the government of Chile. He reiterated his statement that if "Carrera has property enough then it shall be paid . . ." and requested a full representation of the claim. Bland drafted this, and had it translated and presented to O'Higgins prior to his departure from Chile on July 10, 1818.⁹³ The Director also requested another visiting American to write Skinner direct for further information respecting his claim.⁹⁴

The vacillation of the O'Higgins government in the payment of the claim prompted Skinner to continue his pen pleading on behalf of Carrera in the United States press. This personal feeling, combined with the attack on his father-in-law by Rodney and H. M. Brackenridge, Secretary of the Commission, prompted Skinner's first investment in publishing. In August, 1818, he provided the funds for the initiation of the Maryland *Censor*.⁹⁵

⁹³ *Ibid*; Bland to O'Higgins, n. d., ANC: Varios, Vol. 128; Eugenio Pereira Salas, "La misión Bland en Chile," *Revista Chilena de Historia y Geografía*, LXXVII (1933), 80-113.

⁹⁴ Entry dated April 20, 1818, Private Diary of W. G. D. Worthington (Library of Congress).

⁹⁵ The paper was edited and published by William Redding, Skinner's subsequent

Its six months' existence reflected Skinner's dual interest—Carrera and agriculture. The paper was headed by William Redding, Skinner's subsequent assistant on the *American Farmer*, and advocated caution in recognizing the government in Buenos Aires, pointing out that Chile had a greater future potential, while the La Platan leaders were close followers of Britain. Apparently Skinner sought to delay the recognition of any southern South American regime until such time as he received his money or until Carrera might return to power in Chile.⁹⁶ In January, 1819, the *Censor* closed its doors. Skinner, beyond doubt, had received news that Baughan was about to collect, for O'Higgins had issued a decree ordering the father of Carrera to make payment in full. In July, 1818, 500 *vacas* and 300 *cabezas de ganado* were seized, and by March, 1819, the principal and interest were paid.⁹⁷ The Skinner-Carrera episode thus closed in fact but not in history, for many historians of Chile have heaped praises on this generous friend of Chile's most mistreated revolutionary hero.⁹⁸

Prior to Bland's departure for South America, when privateering undertakings were at their height, Skinner became acquainted with the self-styled General Sir Gregor McGregor. In so doing the postmaster was to render his government a service. McGregor, military-trained in the Peninsular wars but late of Venezuela where he had fought on after Bolívar had departed, had, for reasons still confounding the historians who dabble in filibustering history of the 1810's, decided to free Florida from Spanish control and turn it over to the United States. He secured authorization for this undertaking from three Latin American agents representing four countries. Recruiting for money, men, and munitions was begun in New York and ended in Baltimore.⁹⁹ There, the Scot revealed his great plan to Skinner, extracting from him a solemn promise that in due time Skinner should inform his government of the exact nature of the Amelia Island episode.¹⁰⁰ Subsequently,

employee on the *American Farmer* (W. F. Redding to David Porter, Porter Papers). J. R. Poinsett referred to the *Censor* as "Mr. Skinner's Ploughboy a short time previous to his changing its title" (Poinsett to B. Irvine, June 18, 1822, Porter Papers).

⁹⁶ Bornholdt, *Baltimore*, 97-99.

⁹⁷ Pereira Salas, "La misión Bland," 101.

⁹⁸ Collier and Feliú Cruz, *La primera misión*, 233-234; Vicuña Mackenna, *El ostracismo*.

⁹⁹ Harold A. Bierck, *Vida pública de don Pedro Gual* (Caracas, 1947), 139-150.

¹⁰⁰ Skinner to Secretary of State, July 30, 1817, D. S.: Misc.

McGregor seized the city of Fernandina on the Island, created the Republic of Florida, opened a prize court, and made plans for the conquest of the mainland. In July, 1817, he wrote Skinner reminding him of his promise: "I have therefore now to request that you will do me the favor you promised me at Baltimore, that is to communicate to your government my views in taking possession of this place."¹⁰¹ The man O'Higgins loved promptly and gladly obliged by writing the Secretary of State on July 30. He reviewed his meeting with McGregor "sometime past" the day after the Scot had arrived in Baltimore, related the "Daily visits for two months" during which funds had been solicited, and the objectives of the expedition: 1. to take possession of Amelia Island as a prelude to the seizure of all Florida; 2. to form a constitution and to encourage the people to declare for the United States; and 3. to collect supplies for the South American independence movement.¹⁰² Skinner, therefore, and not others, as has been claimed, set in motion the cabinet discussion that led to the destruction of the Florida Republic by United States naval forces in December, 1817.¹⁰³

Skinner, on learning of the fate of the colony wrote, "I was always convinced that enterprize against Florida must fail from a total want of *means and experience*. . . ." ¹⁰⁴ The onus of failure, however, did not fall upon McGregor. He and his Venezuelan wife had left Fernandina, turning its control over to Luis Aury, privateer extraordinary. From Nassau, New Providence Island, late in December, 1817, the General wrote Skinner, "I have endeavored again to realize the plans, we have so often thought and talked of; I trust the persons I have employed will not disgrace the cause of S. America,—you know my objects! and I am afraid I am unjustly blamed for the actions of those that have come after me."¹⁰⁵ Skinner judged correctly. Experience was definitely lacking in the Amelia episode and the Baltimore group of patriot adherents did little to support that undertaking. Their

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰² *Ibid.*

¹⁰³ Whitaker (*United States*, p. 237, n. 22) endeavors to correct Griffin (*United States*, III) by claiming that William Thorton and not McGregor himself was the first to inform the government of McGregor's true intentions. In truth, it was Skinner.

¹⁰⁴ Skinner to General Mason, March 20, 1818, DS: Misc.

¹⁰⁵ December 27, 1817, *ibid.*

backing of Carrera and of the ill-fated Mina Expedition to Mexico drove home the lesson that commercial privileges could best be sought in normal trade competition. As privateering waned commerce grew; the friendship displayed during the days of non-recognition was repaid many times over during the glorious exporting years 1821-1828. For those, and Skinner was foremost among them, who had talked and read about South America, there developed the realization that the area had much to offer the United States. From this conviction and knowledge stemmed Skinner's continued interest in the new nations—an interest which he clearly revealed in his third private enterprise—the *American Farmer*; an interest that marks him one of the first inter-Americanists.

(To be concluded in the June number)

WEBLEY, OR MARY'S DELIGHT, BAY HUNDRED, TALBOT COUNTY

By SARA SETH CLARK and RAYMOND B. CLARK, JR.

MORE often referred to as "Mary's Delight" by the residents of Bay Hundred District of Talbot County, "Webley" has for many years commanded an unsurpassed view of Chesapeake and Eastern bays. It is one of the best known landmarks in Bayside. Built upon a low bluff, its beautiful lawns slope down to the water. It is possible to see the outlines of the Western Shore. All kinds of ships are to be seen on their passage up and down the Chesapeake, to and from Baltimore and other ports. The channel is very near the Eastern Shore at this point making it an even better vantage point from which to see the sea-going vessels.

Located on the road which leads from McDaniel to Tilghman and about a mile from Wittman, Webley is reached by a paved driveway of approximately a mile. The handsome brick gates flanked by attractive shrubbery enhance the entrance. The avenue of tall Lombardy poplars, interspersed with pines, for three decades a distinguishing mark of the estate, permits a view of the house. Quite near the mansion the road divides and forms a circle on the lawn at the eastern entrance. When approached from the road the house presents the view of a typical fine country house placed in a setting of trees and lawn. The façade is that of a five-part home. The central wing, with its two connecting links and wings, is indicative of the symmetrically balanced home found in 18th century Maryland houses. While only the massive central portion of the original house is still standing today, (accounts indicate that the kitchen and wing did exist) the comparatively recent additions of the wings and connecting passages were erected with so much taste that it would not be at all difficult to believe that the whole mansion was built at the same time. In this

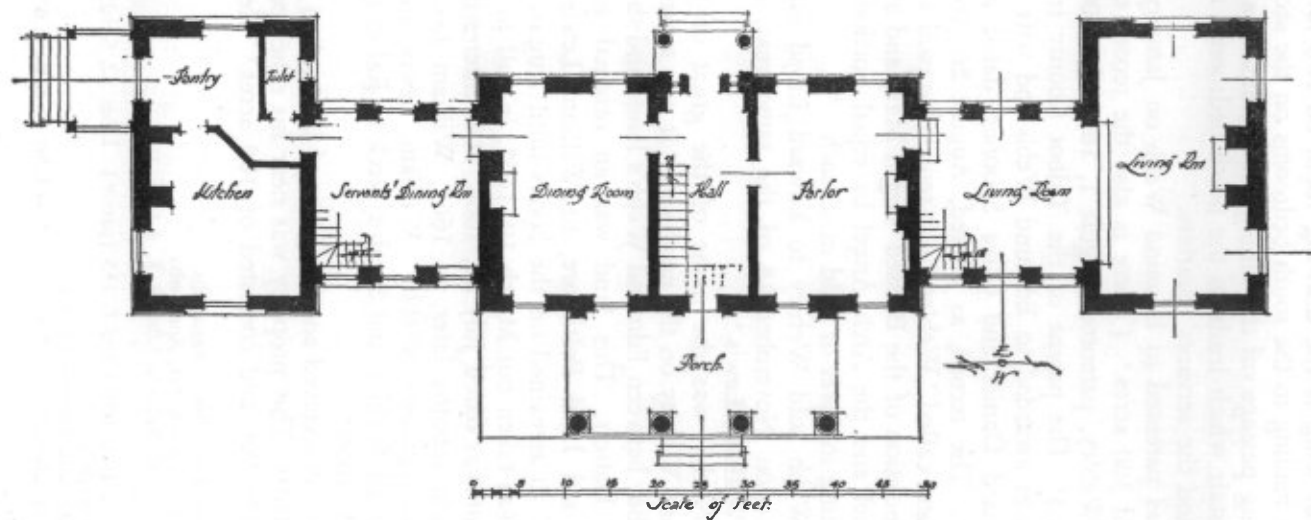
respect Webley can be compared to Whitehall, the famous estate of Maryland's colonial governor, Horatio Sharpe, which is almost directly opposite it, across the Bay above Annapolis.

This brick house has many interesting features. The eastern or entrance façade projects slightly from the rest of the house. The doorway, with its two small side lights and transom, is framed by columns and has a well-proportioned pedimented cornice which is repeated below the roof and at the gable ends of the house. The shuttered windows have stone architraves. The heads of the two dormers are semi-circular. Although ivy now conceals most of the belt course, parts of it can be plainly seen. On the western side of the house facing the Bay there is an attractive two story portico, in the pediment of which there is a semi-circular window.

The front door opens into a spacious central hall. From it one can look directly through the door opposite to a marvelous view of the Bay. Doors on each side lead to the library and to the dining room. A handsome stair, to the right, rises to the third floor. Its light balustrade with walnut handrail starts from a finely turned newel. A low paneled wainscot runs along the wall side of the stair. The soffit is finished with unpaneled sheathing. A conventional carved scroll ornaments the ends of the steps. The flights are broken by two landings between the first and second floors and by one between the second and third.

The library, to the left of the entrance, extends through the entire depth of the old portion of the house. It has four windows, two at each end, and a door leads to the drawing room. The ceiling is beamed. A rather heavy wooden cornice is decorated with a Greek fret. The mantel is ornate with a frieze of elaborate design having a medallion in the center and sunken ovals outlined with beading over the fluted columns. The shelf is high and narrow. Paneling flanking the mantel shows hexagonal panels alternating with squares.

The dining room, to the right of the entrance hall, like the library, is a large room running the entire depth of the house and has four windows. There is a cornice and the ceiling is beamed. The mantel features tambour fluted pilasters in a herringbone pattern and a frieze decoration of rosettes, fluting and drapery. Two large bedrooms and bath are on the second floor in the central portion.



FIRST FLOOR PLAN OF WEBLEY

In the south wing is the drawing room on two levels and a winding stair leading to the south bedrooms on the second floor. The connecting passage off the dining room contains a breakfast room and a stair which leads to the north bedrooms, as well as the kitchen and the servants' quarters.

Webley was patented to Edmund Webb on January 7, 1659, and contained 300 acres.¹ (There is also the record of another tract called Webley, patented August 1, 1673, for 400 acres in Kent County.)² The patent of the Talbot County tract called "Webley" was awarded to Edmund Webb and wife for transporting Leonard Daniel and Olive Spooner, dated at London July 7, 1641. The record, as altered, August 26, 1651, reads, "Parcel of land called 'Webley' . . . rent to be paid at the feast of the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin Mary and at the feast of St. Michael and the Arch Angel by equal portions . . . six shillings sterling in silver or gold or in such."³

Edmund Webb sold Webley to Edward Lloyd on April 4, 1661, and he on November 14 of the same year, resold the property to William Lewis.⁴

"Sarah's Neck" was the name of the grant of fifty acres which adjoined Webley on the northwest. It was situated on the Chesapeake Bay between Edmund Webb's lands and those owned by William Hatton. This land was an original grant from Cecilius, Second Lord Baltimore, to William Lewis (Lewes) July 2, 1649. It remained on the books until August 21, 1651. The patent was taken out March 19, 1661, in full in 1662, and the final grant was dated July 20, 1668. It is interesting to note here that eight months later, in 1661, William Lewis bought Webley from Edmund Webb.⁵ William Lewis and Samuel Winslow deeded Webley and Sarah's Neck to Ralph Fishbourne December 14, 1668.⁶

Edmund Webb received another grant of land called "Bolton" on July 20, 1659. This property was near his other property on the Chesapeake Bay and consisted of 100 acres.⁷ He also had

¹ Liber 4, f. 336, Land Office, Annapolis.

² Liber 17, f. 430, Land Office, Annapolis.

³ Talbot County Land Records, Liber R. F. # 12, f. 103.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ Liber 5, f. 130 (certificate) and f. 145 (patent). Liber 12, f. 105, is the final grant. Land Office, Annapolis.

⁶ Talbot County Land Records, Liber 1, f. 73.

⁷ Liber 21, f. 492, Land Office, Annapolis. Also Liber N. S. B., f. 67.



APPROACH FRONT—WEBLEY

Photo H. Robins Hollyday



DETAIL OF ENTRANCE FRONT

another tract "Bolton's Addition" consisting of 50 acres and situated between "Miles End" and Bolton, patented for him on December 20, 1685.⁸

In his will, dated 1685, he devised "Bolton," now containing 150 acres by combining it with Bolton's Addition to his daughter Elizabeth Caemp. He was survived by four children: Elizabeth Caemp, Mary, William, and Edmund Webb, Jr.⁹

Cecilius, Second Lord Baltimore, granted to Thomas Miles, planter, for transporting to Maryland, Weary Cobden, Sarah Rayman, Susan Everett, and William Golfull, a parcel of land called "Miles End" consisting of 400 acres on January 7, 1659.¹⁰ This tract was situated on the Chesapeake Bay and adjoined the land of Edmund Webb. Thomas Miles and his wife Margaret deeded this land to Thomas Ford on November 8, 1660. Thomas and Elizabeth Ford very quickly sold the property to John Shaw and heirs. John Shaw and his heirs sold it to Edmund Webb and Dennis Shores on April 10, 1611.¹¹ Edmund Webb sold a part of Miles End (land bought from John Shaw "for valuable consideration in hand received") to Robert Fuller, November, 1665.¹²

Robert Fuller and wife deed 150 acres of land of a patent called Miles End to Ralph Fishbourne, (from Chester, Pennsylvania) December 4, 1670.¹³ Fishbourne requests the tract, consisting of a part of Miles End, which he had recently purchased from Robert Fuller, be deeded back to him. This was recorded on April 19, 1671.¹⁴ Robert Fuller deeds this same tract to Fishbourne again on September 9, 1671,¹⁵ for five hundred pounds of tobacco.¹⁶ All through these deeds are references to the "said Webb's *now* dwelling plantation." This would seem to indicate that Edmund Webb lived on a part of the Miles End tract nearest his first grant Webley which he had sold to Edward Lloyd. This part of the Miles End tract, not purchased by Fuller and Fishbourne and Cooper was included in the resurvey of

⁸ Liber 22, f. 173, Land Office, Annapolis.

⁹ Talbot County Wills, Box 24, folder 5, Hall of Records, Annapolis.

¹⁰ Liber 4, f. 233, Land Office, Annapolis.

¹¹ Talbot County Land Records, Liber, R. F. # 12, f. 108.

¹² Document torn over date of month and day. *Ibid.*, Liber 1, f. 8.

¹³ *Ibid.*, Liber 1, f. 7.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, f. 153.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, f. 180.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, f. 272. Sold November 18, 1673 to John Cooper for £ 6,000 of tobacco.

Webley by John Kersey in 1806. These other properties adjoining Webley are mentioned in detail because, in 1806, they were incorporated in the resurvey and the whole named "Mary's Delight."

William Fishbourne (probably the son of Ralph Fishbourne) sold Webley containing 300 acres and Sarah's Neck containing 50 acres to Francis Bullock for 600 barrels of Indian corn. Payment was to be divided into seven annual payments. Benjamin Ball acted as attorney for Fishbourne, a Philadelphia merchant. The agreement was recorded October 16, 1708.¹⁷ On November 1, 1712, Francis Bullock devised a patent on Webley.¹⁸

Francis Bullock's will, probated in 1721 in Talbot County, left property to his three sons-in-law, William Kersey, Robert Fuller, and John Kersey. To the latter he devised his dwelling plantation after the death of his wife, also personalty. The property involved was Webley and Sarah's Neck. The other heirs received lands in Queen Anne and Dorchester Counties. His wife, Martha Bullock, renounced her right to administer on the estate in favor of her son-in-law, John Kersey.¹⁹

Following the same pattern as his father-in-law, John Kersey on September 16, 1721, bought Webley and Sarah's Neck from William and Hannah Fishbourne, of Philadelphia, merchants, for 141 pounds, eighteen shillings, and nine pence. It is assumed that it was necessary for John Kersey to underwrite the financial obligations of his father-in-law to the Fishbournes in order to own the property.²⁰

John Kersey did not live long to enjoy his newly-acquired property. He died in 1727. In his will, dated January 11th, he left his property of Webley and Sarah's Neck to his son, Francis Kersey and his heirs. His wife, Jane, who later married Solloman Horney, and his daughter Mary were also mentioned.²¹ John Kersey's wife Jane, was probably the daughter of William Robson of Dorchester County, whose will mentioned his daughter Jane Kersey. The will was probated in 1729.²² According to the will of John Dickinson, of Talbot County, probated in 1718, in which he leaves to his

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, Liber R. F. # 11, ff. 63-65.

¹⁸ Provincial Court Judgments, Liber A. # 1, f. 70, Hall of Records, Annapolis.

¹⁹ Talbot County Wills, Box 2, folders 48 and 53, Hall of Records, Annapolis.

²⁰ Talbot County Land Records, Liber P. F. # 13, ff. 378-382.

²¹ Talbot County Wills, Liber H. B. # 2, f. 49.

²² Maryland Calendar of Wills (Baltimore, 1904-1928), VI, 143.

daughter, Mary Kersey, silver marked "M" "D,"²³ there is the assumption that she may have been John Kersey's wife, and certainly he had a wife named Bullock.

Francis Kersey, son of John Kersey, was a minor at the death of his father as is evidenced by the document which names William Webb Haddaway as his guardian, which passed the court of Talbot County in 1734. John Leeds, one of the Justices of the Peace for Talbot County, appointed Thomas Smith and Daniel Lambdin to appraise the plantation of the late John Kersey on behalf of his orphan son including all improvements. They were to make a report of the conditions of the estate to the court. The report made May 5, 1735, by Smith and Lambdin, after being qualified to do so by John Leeds is as follows:

One large dwelling house with several rooms smooth work in indifferent repair; one logged kitchen 20 feet long, 16 feet wide in good repair. One milk house 15 feet long, 10 feet wide in indifferent repair. One barn 40 feet long, 20 feet wide with two plank floors—wants covering—two forty foot tobacco houses 20 feet wide much out of repair—two old corn houses and three old outhouses—very old and not worth repairing. One 15 foot hen house and garden 50 feet square—paled in. One orchard containing about 100 apple trees—the fence upon the said plantation being chiefly old yet in tenant order and, according to the best of our knowledge, we do value the said plantation at the rate of eight hundred pounds of merchantable tobacco which the said guardian shall be accountable to the said orphan for the further the said guardian shall pay and discharge my lord's quit rent yearly, and keep the houses that can be repaired, orchards and other improvements in good repair during his said guardianship and at the expiration of his guardianship shall surrender to ye said orphan ye said plantation and in tenantable order to the same we have affixed our hands and seals the day and year before mentioned."

[Signed:] THOMAS SMITH

DANIEL LAMBDIN.²⁴

Another report filed by the appraisers gives additional material on the Webley and Sarah's Neck property. It was filed on July 1, 1734. Thomas Smith and Daniel Lambdin met with John Leeds, the Justice of the Peace by appointment at Webley to determine the amount of the annual rent of the plantation and to make a statement as to the condition of the improvements. They reported as follows:

²³ *Ibid.*, IV, 156.

²⁴ Talbot County Land Records, Liber T. B. # 14, f. 84.

One dwelling house with two rooms 40 feet long and 15 feet wide and
a Back Building about 30 feet long.

One Milk House 10 feet square.

One Hen House 15 feet long—10 feet wide.

One Tobacco House 40 feet long and 20 feet wide.

An Old Tobacco House 40 feet long and 20 feet wide.

Garden about 50 feet square much out of repair.

. . . the houses upon ye said plantation want repairing.

John Cassaway was the guardian for Francis Kersey and like William Webb Haddaway was responsible for payment of the 800 pounds of tobacco and the land rents to the "Lordship" and to leave the plantation in good repair and the fences in good tenatable order.²⁵

The certificate signed May 5, 1735, indicated that a guardian was to be appointed and two appraisers to make annual valuation of the lands and of the improvements of the estate of the orphan.

Francis Kersey married three times. First on April 20, 1750, to Elizabeth Lambdin.²⁶ In 1752 there is proof that his wife was Sarah Lambdin, daughter of Daniel Lambdin.²⁷ In his will, written March 15, 1762, and probated June 6, 1765, Francis Kersey mentions his third wife, Margaret. He left his property to his son, John Kersey. If this son died without heirs the property was to go to his daughter Mary.²⁸

John Kersey was a gentleman and a scholar. After the death of his first wife he married Mary Lambdin Dawson, daughter of Impey Dawson.²⁹ By her he had four daughters. Ann Dawson Kersey married William Haddaway, Mary Impey Kersey married Thomas I. Sherwood, Elizabeth L. Kersey married Absolom Thompson, and Martha Banning Kersey married Anthony C. Thompson.

Kersey induced Theophilus R. Gates, an educator to come to Talbot County to teach a group of children in 1807. Gates first boarded at Webley while he was teaching. He wrote to Elihu R. Paine, May 9, 1807, that he had been in Baltimore a few days ago and while there had agreed to stay with Kersey one year

²⁵ *Ibid.*, f. 352.

²⁶ St. Peter's Parish Records, Maryland Historical Society.

²⁷ Balance Book, Liber 1, p. 20, Hall of Records, Annapolis.

²⁸ Wills, 33, f. 192, Hall of Records, Annapolis. Margaret Kersey's will is in Talbot County Wills, J. P. # 4, f. 222.

²⁹ Impey Dawson's will is in Talbot County Wills, J. P. # 4, f. 30. The Dawson Chart, Maryland Historical Society, gives his dates as 1718-1798.

from April 27, 1809, as a tutor.³⁰ The following interesting account which was written by Gates explains his connection with Kersey and his family:

Met gentleman from Eastern Shore of Maryland who employed me as a teacher for one quarter. Went down with him on packet. A place was soon provided for me to teach in, and boarded constantly at the house of John Kersey. He sent two daughters to me, was very wealthy and afterwards employed me himself at one hundred pounds a year, to teach at his own place of residence. Mr. Kersey was a man possessed of a feeling heart, and knew how to sympathize with others in their distress. I never saw a man so easily affected at the woes of others, as he was, nor one more ready to administer relief to an unfortunate fellow creature. Though in opulent circumstances as it respects the things of this world he had known grief by the loss of his first wife, whom he tenderly loved. I believed he regarded me as his own son and I certainly esteemed and loved him as a father; nor shall I this side of the grave (for he is now no more) ever find a man like unto him. Mrs. Kersey also treated me with much kindness and respect.³¹

John Kersey was a judge of the Circuit Court for Talbot County.³² He was also very active in the formation of the Methodist Church in Bayside. His name appears as a trustee on a deed giving land to the Methodists for a church in St. Michaels in 1781. The land was given by James Braddock "having a pious zeal and peculiar love for the society of people called Methodists" on June 6, 1781, and consisted of half of town lots 36 and 38 fronting on St. Mary's Square. Upon it was built "a good and convenient house, agreeable to the instructions of the people called Methodists, for the public worship of Almighty God, and to and for the said use and purpose, and to no other use, intent or meaning whatever." The other trustees were James Benson, Robert Lambdin, Thomas Harrison, Richard Parrott, Joseph Harrison, Joseph Denny, John Mac Donald, and Daniel Fairbank.³³

The second Methodist meeting house in the Bayside was erected upon a part of the land called Miles End, purchased from John

³⁰ *The Trials, Experience, Exercises of Mind and First Travels of Theophilus R. Gates, written by himself.* (Poughkeepsie: Printed by C. C. Adams and Co. for the author, 1810), pp. 77-78.

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 55.

³² See Donnell Owings, *His Lordship's Patronage* (Baltimore, Maryland Historical Society, 1953).

³³ Talbot County Land Records, Liber R. S. # 21, ff. 229-230. For an excellent description of religion in Bayside see Oswald Tilghman's *History of Talbot County, 1661-1861* (Baltimore: Williams and Wilkins, 1915), II, 306-309.

Kersey and Mary Lambdin Dawson Kersey for seven shillings and sixpence on May 1, 1804. The deed was made to the following persons as Trustees: John McDaniel, Robert Lambdin Jr., Robert Lambdin, Joseph Hopkins, Robert Colloson, Daniel Lambdin, James McDaniel, and James Haddaway. Kersey was undoubtedly the ninth trustee.³⁴

John Kersey died about 1808, intestate. He was survived by his wife, Mary Lambdin Dawson Kersey, who married Thomas L. Frazier of Dorchester County on April 4, 1809. They were married by Rev. Mr. Price.³⁵

Kersey had had his properties resurveyed April 9, 1805, and combined them into one tract which he named Mary's Delight. This new plantation included part of Miles End, 171 $\frac{1}{4}$ acres; Webley, 259 $\frac{1}{4}$ acres; parts of Sarah's Neck and Kersey's Ramble "were within the lines of an "elder survey" of "Wade's Point." Nineteen and a half acres included in this plat were vacant. Some of the land was now under water. The total acreage of Mary's Delight was now 560 $\frac{1}{4}$ acres. The new name was chosen because of the very great love one of his daughters had for her home.

A commission was appointed to divide the property following the death of John Kersey.³⁶ It was made into portions of cleared land and woodland for each heir. Mary L. Frazier, John Kersey's widow, agreed to let her dower part of the estate be divided among her children and that they pay her annual rent for her share of the properties. Ann Dawson Kersey (who had married William Haddaway) inherited lot No. 3 of cleared land and lot No. 3 of woodland, as was described on the plat of the commissioners. She also bought April 8, 1822, lots No. 4 from her sister Mary Impey Kersey who had married Thomas I. Sherwood. Martha Banning Kersey, who married Anthony C. Thompson, received lots No. 2. The fourth daughter, Elizabeth L. Kersey, who later married Dr. Absolom Thompson, received lots No. 1.³⁷

Dr. Absolom Thompson purchased the interest in Mary's Delight which came to his brother, Dr. Anthony C. Thompson, through his wife. He also came into possession of another interest through his own wife.³⁸

³⁴ Talbot County Land Records, Liber J. L. # 30, ff. 505-508.

³⁵ *Easton Star*, October 21, 1829.

³⁶ Land Commissioner Surveys # 1, Clerk of Court's Office, Easton.

³⁷ Talbot County Land Records, Liber J. L. # 44, ff. 252-255.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, Liber J. L. # 51, f. 554. Bond of Conveyance dated July 18, 1826 and April 28, 1835.

Dr. Thompson was a prominent physician who established, about 1830, the first hospital on the Eastern Shore in his home. This was the period when there were few hospitals even in large cities. It was quite a step forward for the Bayside area. Dr. Thompson was therefore a progressive man and not afraid to take the initiative in beginning such a new project. Supposed to have been possessed of extraordinary skill as a surgeon, he performed operations many doctors would not have dared to attempt without his experience. His reputation was more than state-wide. Almost as famous as a surgeon was his profanity, though this characteristic really was a cloak to hide a kindly nature.³⁹ He is described by one author as appearing to the inhabitants of that locality as a familiar figure making his rounds riding bareback and barefoot on a mule with his kit carrying a jar of calomel, lancet, and syringe with a nozzle like a twelve bore shotgun.⁴⁰ This last must have been a great misrepresentation.

There is also the legend that Dr. Thompson's wife conducted a Sunday School at Webley during the time they lived there. The Negroes tell stories about human bones being found in the cellar when Webley was being restored. The granddaughter of Dr. Thompson, (Mrs.) Annie Eliza Thompson Clendon, remembers that many farmers whose property bordered on the Chesapeake Bay kept two graveyards on their estates. One for their families and one for strangers whose bodies were washed ashore. She recalls that her grandparents, Colonel and Mrs. Daniel Lambdin Haddaway, always provided those washed ashore with coffins, decent burial with a minister officiating at the interment.⁴¹ Some of the more superstitious people thought perhaps the bones found in the cellar were the remains of some of Dr. Thompson's patients.

Dr. Thompson made his will September 22, 1842. It was probated October 11 of that same year. To show his peculiar personality the following is quoted from his will:

I give and bequeath all my estate, real, personal and mixt, of every sort and description, to my dearly beloved son, Absolom Christopher Columbus Americus Vespucius Thompson, provided he shall ever be found alive, who is supposed to be dead, except the legacies hereinafter given.⁴²

³⁹ Scarborough, Katherine, *Homes of the Cavaliers* (New York, 1930), p. 299; *Easton Star-Democrat*.

⁴⁰ Footner, Hulbert, *Rivers of the Eastern Shore* (New York, 1944), p. 237.

⁴¹ *Easton Star-Democrat*, August 29, 1925.

⁴² Talbot County Wills, Liber J. P. # 9, f. 241.

The Doctor left property near Tilghman's Island to Sarah Catherine Thompson. Each bequest has the phrase "provided that my son shall not return." He left Mary's Delight to his brother Dr. Anthony C. Thompson of St. Michaels, and his nephew Charles J. Thompson at his father's death. Other property on Kent Island was left to Dr. Anthony C. Thompson for his son, Charles J. Thompson, until he reached the age of twenty-six and in Dorchester County for his other sons, Edward D., and Thomas J. until they were twenty-one. The surgeon left provisions that his eight female servants and five male servants serve their respective terms and be set free. He made special provision for his servant Elizabeth More and her two young children. The issue of his female servants were to be free at thirty. The income and the terms of their service were to be equally divided between Mary Ann and Eliza S. Thompson. He mentioned a contract to Tench Tilghman and Page Fox. He left his medical library to Dr. Isaac N. Dixon and his surgical instruments to his brother, who also received the income of the servants for five years and his prize Durham bull.⁴³

Absolom C. C. Thompson did return to claim parts of his inheritance. There are references to him in Dorchester County and in Wilmington, Delaware, with his wife Sarah A. Thompson.⁴⁴ At one time he taught school near Wittman on the Chesapeake Bay.⁴⁵ He borrowed money from Henry Hicks giving "Wolf's Harbour," "Bolton's Addition," and Miles End as securities on the mortgage, in July of 1845.⁴⁶ In August he sold part of four tracts—Wolf's Harbour, Miles End, Bolton, and Bolton's Addition, called the Kemp Farm and containing 202 acres—where Dr. Dixon lived, to James A. Stewart.⁴⁷

In 1846-1847 he appealed to the Judges of the Orphan's Court for relief as an insolvent debtor. James Montgomery Seth was appointed trustee for the creditors.⁴⁸

The next owner of Mary's Delight was John H. Lowe. He purchased it and a part of the tract called "Cromwell" at a

⁴³ *Ibid.*, ff. 242-245.

⁴⁴ See account of loans and sale of property which give his address.

⁴⁵ Seth, Joseph B., and Mary, *Recollections of a Long Life on the Eastern Shore* (Easton, 1927), p. 19.

⁴⁶ Talbot County Land Records, Liber J. P. # 59, ff. 66-68. He borrowed \$6,454.50.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, ff. 95-97.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, Liber J. P. # 60, f. 297.

public sale in 1845 from Samuel Hambleton, Jr., trustee for the estate of the late Eliza L. Kersey, widow of Dr. Absolom Thompson. A decree of the Court of Chancery of Maryland, July 31, 1843, between John K. Thompson *et al* versus Anthony C. Thompson, Jr., *et al* defendants, authorized Samuel Hambleton Jr., to sell the real estate of the late Eliza L. Kersey. The property was purchased for \$4,750.30.⁴⁹

John Hanson Lowe married Mary Seth, daughter of James Montgomery Seth and Louisa Farland Seth, who lived at "Hebron," now called "Langdon."⁵⁰ The Webley property remained in the possession of the Lowe Family for approximately eighty years. In 1924 (Mrs.) Blanche L. Butler and (Mrs.) Louisa S. Ensey, who had inherited the estate from their mother sold Webley to Mrs. Harold Walker of Washington, D. C. who added adjacent property to the tract,⁵¹ and oddly, this property consisted of much of what was contained in the resurvey of "Mary's Delight." The late Arthur Blakeslee, A.I.A., added quite tastefully the wings and connecting passages for the Walkers. He also designed the brick gate. The Walkers planted the trees which line the road to the house which is one of the showplaces of western Talbot County.⁵²

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, ff. 236-239. Made June 8, 1846. Recorded April 20, 1847. Re-examined and possession granted 1848. Webley consisted of 126 acres and one rod and 16 perches. Cromwell contained 157 acres at this time.

⁵⁰ She as one of two daughters. The other, Sara Sophia Smith Seth, married James Edward Covey.

⁵¹ Talbot County Land Records, Liber C. B. L. # 199, ff. 455-457.

⁵² Grateful acknowledgment for assistance is made to the staffs of the Maryland Historical Society, the Enoch Pratt Free Library, the Clerk's Office and Register of Wills for Talbot County, Courthouse, Easton, the Talbot County Free Library, the Land Office, and Hall of Records. Specifically thanks is directed to Mr. John H. Scarff, architect, for the floor plan, and to Mrs. Harold Walker, present owner of Webley, for her graciousness and for her part in restoring the estate.

We acknowledge a debt to Katherine Scarborough's description of Webley in *Homes of the Cavaliers*, pp. 297-299. Several personal visits to the house were invaluable as were interviews concerning the old place.

THE NEW WORLD MEDITERRANEAN

By NEIL H. SWANSON

IT seems to me that anyone who undertakes to talk about the past has an obligation to translate it, if he can, into terms that have some meaning for the present.¹ How can we live intelligently in the present if we know nothing of the past? How can we tell where we *are*, if we do not know where we came from? How can we measure progress if we cannot see the *landmarks* of the past?

In gathering material for this occasion, I came upon one landmark that affords a means of measuring how far we've come. It was only by the grace of God that this new world Mediterranean of ours was not occupied by Spain. The Spaniards were here long before Raleigh and Grenville, Drake and Captain Smith. They planted their first colony in the Chesapeake Bay country in 1526.² It failed.

They tried again, in 1570, on the Rappahannock, not far from the spot where Fredericksburg now stands.³ A massacre by Indians wiped out their second effort. Two years later, they were here again. Their third expedition demonstrated Spain's peculiar fitness to possess the new world: It seized eight Indians and hanged them from the yardarms of its ships.

Innocent or guilty, the Indians served a purpose. The Spaniards took great satisfaction in that hanging. They considered it a master stroke of international diplomacy. It guaranteed, they thought, that all the Indians of the Chesapeake Bay region would

¹ Address before the Maryland Historical Society, October 30, 1952, on the occasion of the formal opening of an exhibition, "Chesapeake Panorama." Copyright, 1954, by Neil H. Swanson.

² Some think the actual location may have been in the Carolinas, south of Cape Hatteras. See Louis Dow Scisco, "Discovery of the Chesapeake Bay, 1525-1573," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XL (Dec., 1945), 277.—*Ed.*

³ Since this address was delivered, an able study by Clifford M. Lewis, S. J., and Albert J. Loomie, S. J., *The Spanish Jesuit Mission in Virginia, 1570-1572* (Chapel Hill, 1953), has appeared. The center of their activities may have been in the James-York rivers region rather than in Potomac-Rappahannock region (see plate V, p. 40).—*Ed.*

be hostile to all white men. Many of them were. The ropes that hanged those Indians were long. Indirectly, in the next few decades, they brought death to many English settlers.

It seems to me that a quick, revealing glimpse of what has been accomplished by the way of life established here can be obtained by the asking of a single question: What kind of world would we be living in today if Chesapeake Bay had become a Spanish sea?

At first thought, it may seem exaggerated and pretentious—even pompous—to describe Chesapeake Bay as “The New World Mediterranean.” It may seem to be an error out of local pride by ignorance. But Marylanders cannot justly be indicated on the charge of ostentation. They *can* be accused of pretence. But that accusation is the opposite of what it seems to be.

For more than a hundred years they have been pretending that they never have done anything important. They have been pretending that the defense of Baltimore in 1814 was a trifling matter.⁴ They have even gone so far as to pretend that the defenders ran like frightened rabbits. I shall never forget that when I came to Baltimore some twenty years ago, one of its truly great men assured me that the Battle of North Point was a disgraceful business. He told me it would be a waste of time to bother with it. He even warned me that I’d make myself unpopular by rattling skeletons in Baltimore’s dark closets. No: Baltimore isn’t given to much bragging.

But I can imagine other intellectuals, both home-grown and imported, sneering at the absurd effrontery of calling Chesapeake Bay the New World Mediterranean. It is said of us Americans, by such top-lofty wizards, that we are a young, raw people. They are fond of saying that we are too new and raw to have any history—that we are uncivilized and uncouth—that we have no traditions, no ideas, no culture.

One of the intellectuals who enthusiastically cultivates that notion is an English scientist—an archeologist and a historian. At least, I assume she is a scientist. She has written a book. Obviously, having written a book myself, I must defend the proposition that the author of a book is blessed with perfect wisdom and complete authority. The name of this particular authority is Jacquetta Hawkes. The book she published a few months ago is titled *History in Earth and Stone*. And this is what it says:

⁴ Mr. Swanson’s study of the Maryland phase of the War of 1812, *The Perilous Fight* (New York, 1945), is well known.—Ed.

Anyone who has travelled in the Middle West of America must have felt the desolation which seems to rise like a fog from territories mauled by man but lacking any of the attributes of history. . . .

It is not only that the visible remains of antiquity are lacking. . . .
. . . the straight roads and scattered shacks have been imposed by the motor-car, and their design is . . . lifeless and mechanical.

I ask you: How can anybody make a speech about the history of such a country? How can anybody dare to speak of Chesapeake Bay, a narrow stretch of water in a wilderness of barbarism, as a "Mediterranean"? The very notion seems absurd when you remember that for thousands of years before Columbus, the old world Mediterranean was the nursery of great civilizations and the stronghold of great empires. It becomes more absurd when you remember that Napoleon, addressing his troops before the Battle of the Pyramids, said: "Forty centuries are looking down upon you."

But even in the field of ancient civilization, there is a parallel between the New World Mediterranean and the old. The Old World Mediterranean did not become a focus of civilization and of human destiny until long after other civilizations had risen, waxed, waned, and disappeared. Great city-states had risen in the valleys of the Tigris and Euphrates while the Old World Mediterranean was still a center, not of culture, but of barbarism. The ancient culture of Sumeria was dead and gone before the days of Athen, Rome, and Carthage. While it lived, it scarcely touched the Mediterranean. Its influence came there not by contact but by long inheritance.

Chesapeake Bay had its Sumeria, too. Napoleon was a "piker" when he spoke of forty centuries. It is possible to say to you tonight, with scrupulous scientific accuracy, that two hundred centuries are looking down on you. . . .

. . . two hundred centuries of North American history.

To put this New World Mediterranean of ours into historical perspective, I want to tell you about the first American confederacy. Twenty thousand years ago, the first immigrants arrived in North America. They came out of Asia, by way of Bering Strait. They pushed down through Canada between the towering, glittering walls of a great ice gorge in the slowly melting continental glacier. Century after century, they came in waves—slow waves of many different tribes and tongues.

Four hundred years before the birth of Christ, one of those waves crossed the Mississippi. It was not the first to do so. But this wave was a strong and warlike people. What they desired, they took. They wanted the Ohio Valley, and they took it from the people who were there before them. They founded, in that valley, a remarkable civilization. They were skilled in agriculture. They tilled the rich lowlands, and on the hills they built forts larger and more massive than Fort McHenry and Ticonderoga.

They built walled towns; and as they grew, they spread out along the tributary valleys just as the population of Baltimore is now spreading out into Baltimore county and down into Anne Arundel. They transformed the wilderness, in places, into vast estates that stretched for miles and even spanned the Ohio River. They worked copper mines in Michigan. They worked mica mines in Georgia.

Their merchant-adventurers travelled to the Rocky Mountains and brought back obsidian for sword blades—sword blades that in shape and size amazingly resemble the famous Roman legionary sword. They travelled to the Gulf of Mexico and brought back shells for ornaments and goblets. They travelled to the far southwest and brought back silver to adorn their women and their nobles. Their women wore hairpins—and they wore shoes with platform soles remarkably like those my wife has on tonight. They wore necklaces of pearls—three hundred matched pearls on a single string. They built great pyramids and crowned them with their temples. Their missionaries planted their religion in Wisconsin and New York and Florida. They became a nation—the first American Confederacy—a confederation of city-states. It isn't stretching history too much to say that they established the first United States of America. It lasted sixteen hundred years. It spread, flourished, and grew prosperous—and soft—and confident—and careless. And it was destroyed.

A great civilization—a great confederacy—the first United States of America—lasted eight times the span of our own national history. And then it was wiped out. It went the way of Nineveh and Babylon and Carthage. It ended in annihilation.

But if the theory of a Viking ship in Chesapeake Bay is true, that civilization still had two and a half centuries to live when Karlsefni steered his dragon ship between the shores of Gibson

Island and Kent Island.⁵ Like the Sumerian civilization of Mesopotamia, reaching out tentative fingers toward the old world Mediterranean, that ancient American civilization reached out toward the New World Mediterranean. Like the Sumerian, it did not reach the shore. It stopped, so far as we now know, somewhere in the Allegheny mountains.

But there you have the first striking parallel between the old world Mediterranean and the new. It is not the only parallel. There is a saying in Hollywood that if you steal material from one book, that's plagiarism; but if you steal material from two books, that's research. On that basis, I am not a plagiarist.

But I confess that my next two sentences have been purloined from a book:

The Mediterranean has been one of the great mothers of ships . . .

From the earliest times to the present, the landlocked sea has developed and multiplied her progeny, sending them to the uttermost ends of the earth.

When you think of boats plying the old world Mediterranean, you think of lateen sails. But if you have seen the primitive oil painting of a Chester River shipyard which is a part of the Chesapeake Panorama, you have seen that lateen sails were a part of the seascape of the New World Mediterranean as well.⁶ And our New World Mediterranean, no less than the old, has been one of the great mothers of ships, and it has literally sent its progeny to the uttermost ends of the earth. The first sail on both these inland seas was a square sail. That is true no matter how far back you go.

In the old world it is true whether you begin with the Egyptian galley sixteen centuries before the birth of Christ, or go back still farther to the little nugger on the Nile, with its one-man crew doing double duty as a mast—standing spraddle-legged, with his arms outstretched to spread his single garment to the wind.

It is true also of the New World Mediterranean, whether you begin with John Smith in 1608 or with the possibility of Karlsefni in his dragon ship exploring Chesapeake Bay in the first decade of the eleventh century—four hundred and ninety years before

⁵ See Frederick J. Pohl, *The Lost Discovery* (New York, 1952).

⁶ This painting is on view at the Society and was a feature of the Chesapeake Panorama exhibition. A reproduction may be found in *Maryland History Notes* for May, 1943.—Ed.

Columbus sailed to "discover" a new world that already had been discovered by European voyagers almost five centuries before.

I suspect—although I cannot prove it—that the square sail of our New World Mediterranean goes back almost as far into the past as the first crude square sail on its human mast on the Nile river. In earliest historic times, the inland tribes of the Ohio Valley understood the art of sailing. Indeed, they had outdone the white man in efficiency. Europeans, in emergencies, used sails as substitutes for tents. The midland Indians of North America reversed that process. Their great mats of woven reeds or fiber were intended to do double duty; they served as roofing and as siding for their houses and, when they felt the urge to travel, the roofs and sidings were rolled up, carried to the waterside, and lashed to masts.

I am tempted to believe that these ancient square sails plied the New World Mediterranean at the same time the old world square sails drove Phoenician, Greek and Roman galleys. And Chesapeake Bay can match, name for name, the ships whose mother was the old world Mediterranean. Whether you take them from the old world or the new, there is a magic in those names.

They have the ring of romance. . . .

. . . xebec and felucca . . .

the long Roman trireme with fire-baskets at its yardarms . . .

the dromon and the round corbita . . .

the patache, the saique and the goelette.

And to match them there's the pungy and the bugeye . . .

. . . the buy-boat with an empty basket boisted to its gaff . . .

the skipjack and the ram . . .

the brogan and the sharpie . . .

and the famous clippers that plucked hairs out of the British lion's tail and declared the British Isles blockaded. . . .

and the famous clipper ships that carried Chesapeake Bay house-flags into strange ports all around the world at speeds never before heard of. . . .

and the log canoe, not only a unique product of the Chesapeake, but also the most beautiful sailing craft that ever spread its canvas to the wind.⁷

⁷ See M. V. Brewington, *Chesapeake Bay Log Canoes* (Newport News, Va. 1937).

It would be possible to go on almost indefinitely drawing minor parallels between the old world Mediterranean and the new. But it's high time to get down to fundamentals. The real importance of the Bay has been its impact upon history.

It is no exaggeration to say that it has changed the world and shaped the future of mankind as surely as the old world Mediterranean. To understand the impact of the Bay on history, you must realize that it is schizophrenic. It has a split personality. For generations we have thought of the Chesapeake as a barrier—a gulf dividing Maryland into two parts.

Now the barrier is down, the gulf is bridged. The Bay takes on once more its original and more important personality. Its real importance to the world has been that of a unifying force. In the beginning, it was not a barrier. It was a broad highway. The fact of its existence created, in the new world, a sense of unity.

Within a year after Jamestown was established, John Smith in his barge of "less than three tuns burthen" had gone poking up the Susquehanna, hunting for a route to China. Strange to say, he somehow missed it. But he did find something that was more important. He discovered that the Chesapeake Bay country was essentially a unit.

The Bay was a unifying force so powerful that less than six years after the arrival of the *Ark* and the *Dove*, the colonies of Maryland and Virginia had been drawn together, by their common interests and the existence of this great broad highway, into armed alliance for defense against the Indians. I have discovered that there is so much undiscovered history that I am wary about saying anything is "first." But to the best of my knowledge, that alliance was the first step toward union in the new world.

Chesapeake Bay has been a unifying force so powerful that it overcame the disruptive forces which were transplanted to this region from the old world. The fact of its existence, giving the settlers of the region a means of communication and co-operation as well as a common interest, enabled them to turn back the incursions of the Swedes and Dutchmen from the north, the Frenchmen from the westward, and the Spaniards from the south. In that sense, it deserves the name of New World Mediterranean; for as a unifying force it has had greater influence on history than did the old world Mediterranean, where divisive and disruptive forces have not yet been reconciled.

More important yet, it led to the development of a distinctive civilization—a civilization focused on tidewater . . . drawing its food from a sheltered sea . . . building homes that faced the rivers . . . getting news by water . . . sending mail by water . . . trading, buying, selling, even marrying by water.

It is even reasonable to say that if the Bay had not existed, Maryland would not have furnished the Father of his Country with his first American ancestor—his great-great-grandfather. The Bay did more than draw the colonies of Maryland and of Virginia together. It played a vital part in unifying all the thirteen colonies. How great that part was can be understood when you remember that when the first regular mail coaches began to run between Baltimore and Philadelphia in 1765, the route was by water to Frenchtown, by road to Christiana, and again by water up to Philadelphia. Nor should it be forgotten that the Bay, creating a common way of life and a common culture, drew the sympathies of Marylanders toward Virginia in the War Between the States. That same common culture now has given Maryland one of its proudest and a unique distinctions—that the honored battle flag of the Confederacy marches with the Stars and Stripes at the head of our old Dandy Fifth, the oldest regiment in the army of the United States. And that same common culture of the Bay has given us a symbol of unity—an old, old symbol that comes to us from that first American confederacy in the Ohio Valley, out of distant Asia—the famous shoulder patch worn by the 29th Division.

No discussion of the New World Mediterranean can be complete without at least a mention of its impact on the present and the future through its enormous influence upon military strategy. You might even go so far as to say that the Chesapeake was the greatest single factor in determining that the Union should not be disrupted by the Civil War—that the Potomac should not be the border between two separate nations. It is the old, old lesson of the sea: That the control of strategic water is control of human destiny and of the fate of nations. Just as the possession of the sea gave England the vital "inner lines" in its long struggle with fanatic revolutionary French and then against the tyrannical ambitions of Napoleon, the existence and control of Chesapeake Bay gave to the North the inner lines in the desperate struggle for the heart of the Confederacy. The Union generals could

move masses of troops faster around the perimeter of Richmond than the Confederates could move them shorter distances by land. Virginia roads choked with mud; rails rusted; rolling stock broke down. But the Bay was a broad highway—a great military road.

Not even the genius of Lee nor the fierce valor of the Army of Northern Virginia could prevail against the implacable fact of the existence of the Chesapeake. Jeb Stuart could ride around the Union armies; he could penetrate their land screens. But not even he could penetrate the secrets of the great military highway nature has provided.

It is significant that the first, deepest thrust of English-speaking power into the heart of the new world in the struggle with the French for the possession of the continent was made by water lines, along the valley of Potomac from its Chesapeake Bay base. It is significant, too, that in our two wars of independence, British strategy was based on the existence of the Bay.

The first plan of campaign in the Revolution was to split the colonies into three parts—to cut off New England by a thrust down the Hudson, and to divide the Atlantic colonies by a thrust *coming from the west* and aimed at Virginia and Maryland. You may or may not know that that campaign was frustrated in the beginning by the capture, at Frederick in Maryland, of the British officer carrying the plans and orders to the garrisons on the frontier.

But it was in our second War of Independence that the Bay profoundly shaped and changed the future of the world. It was the fact of the Bay's existence that controlled once more the British strategy—the great three-pronged attack that was to split the young republic into helpless fragments—one blow coming down the Hudson, one blow coming up the Bay, the third blow striking at the Mississippi.

Most of you have heard me say this: I believe that in the long perspective of the years, the Battle of Baltimore has become one of the world's decisive battles. The American commissioners at Ghent had been confronted with an ultimatum. By its terms, the western boundary of the United States would be the Greenville Line. That line ran through Ohio.

Beyond it, Britain intended to set up a buffer state on the European pattern—an Indian nation under British military domination. Four days after the news of the defeat at Baltimore reached London, the ultimatum was withdrawn.

What would have happened if the news had been of victory, instead? The biggest word in history is "if." But I believe that if the terms of that ultimatum had been imposed on the United States, the free world would not exist as we now know it.

I believe the issue of the War Between the States was decided at North Point and Fort McHenry. Beyond the Greenville Line that would have blocked the growth of the United States, there came into existence Indiana, Michigan, Wisconsin, Illinois, Minnesota, Iowa, and half of the state of Ohio. Those new states sent more than eight hundred thousand men into the Union armies. I do not believe it is too much to say that those eight hundred thousand were the balance of power that turned the tide of battle in that war.

Believing that, I also believe that the defense of Baltimore changed the history of the modern world. What would the world be like today if this were *two* nations, and not one? Twice, now, it has been the power of these *United* States that turned the tide of battle in two greater wars.

And again, today, it is the power of these United States that is maintaining freedom in the world against the deadliest threat that it has ever known. Upon those grounds, the Bay of Chesapeake has every right to be called the New World Mediterranean. It has profoundly shaped the future of mankind.

MARYLAND BIBLIOGRAPHY: 1953

THIS is the third in a series of annual bibliographies offered to our readers. In general the same principles of selection previously used (*Maryland Historical Magazine*, XLVII [Mar., 1952], 55-61, and XLVIII [Mar., 1953], 53-64) apply in this year's compilation. Grateful acknowledgment for assistance is made to the staff of the Maryland Department, Enoch Pratt Free Library. Materials in this *Magazine*, the *Maryland History Notes*, current government publications, and undocumented newspaper articles are specifically omitted. No theses or dissertations are listed as none have come to our notice.

The entries which follow are listed alphabetically under three headings: I. Books; II. Pamphlets and Leaflets; and III. Articles. (*Entries under III. Articles are listed alphabetically by publication.*)

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REVIEWS OF RECENT BOOKS

Tobacco Coast: A Maritime History of the Chesapeake Bay in the Colonial Era. By ARTHUR PIERCE MIDDLETON. Edited by GEORGE CARRINGTON MASON. Newport News: Mariners' Museum, 1953. xii, 482 pp. \$5.00.

In the Foreword of *Tobacco Coast*, Mr. Middleton carefully states the purpose and scope of the book as follows:

"My purpose is to deal with every aspect of the maritime history of colonial Virginia and Maryland and thereby to show how Chesapeake Bay and its many tributaries profoundly influenced the historical development of those colonies by providing a natural system of waterways that facilitated rapid settlement, made possible the large-scale production of tobacco, rendered seaports unnecessary below the fall line, and presented Virginia and Maryland with problems of internal transportation and of naval defense quite unlike those of other British American colonies. As a by-product, the study reveals the fact—often neglected by historians—that the Chesapeake Bay country, despite its division into two colonies, remained a single economic and physiographic unit."

With the premise so carefully stated, the reviewer is left with only two queries to answer, first, how well does the book live up to this advance notice, and second, is the premise valid?

In dealing with economic and social history the writer is always faced with the problem of what kind of a sequence to follow in presenting his subject. Mr. Middleton chose a topical rather than a chronological sequence. The book is divided into five parts, "Sea and Bay," "Commerce," "Shipping," "Warfare," and "Conclusion." This method inevitably produces a certain amount of repetition for the author must state basic facts again and again in treating each topic. If skilfully done, this is helpful to the reader; if poorly done, the reader feels that he is perusing a collection of magazine articles. Mr. Middleton weaves his basic facts through each chapter neatly so that the continuity is preserved and at the same time any one chapter may be read by itself without confusion. This is an accomplishment of a high order and gives the book a dual value as both a unitary study and as a reference source. The copious footnotes, extensive bibliography, and fairly lengthy index confirm this estimate of its structural value.

The merit of the individual chapters is more difficult to assess. The chapter on "The Convoy System," for instance, is cogent and smoothly put together with a wealth of details, a sense of chronological development, and excellent generalization. The same can be said for "Defense

of the Bay," a view of the measures taken to protect the shipping and people in the Bay region from pirates, privateers, and enemy expeditions. Both topics lend themselves to the chronological approach and are relatively simple in nature. The chapter on "The Tobacco Trade" is more typical of the book and less successful in its organization. It begins with an excellent survey of the first few decades of tobacco growing and a long view of the later progress of the industry. This is followed by a topical treatment of the methods of cultivation of tobacco and its preparation for shipping. After that is another topical treatment of the several methods of marketing tobacco through consignment merchants and factors, and after that a separate section on tariff duties, the growth of production, and colonial attempts to reduce the crop and regulate the quality of tobacco. The chapter closes with a discussion of the Continental European market and the special diplomatic problems which this involved. The chapters on "British and African Trade," "American and South European Trade," "Ships and Shipbuilding," and "Masters and Mariners" are all constructed in much the same way, and the result is unsatisfying. The material is all there, but the effect is choppy. "Masters and Mariners," in fact, rambles from one aspect to the other without much order, although the information is entertaining and often important. "Shoals and Shallows," on the other hand, covers the subjects of ferry boats, maps and charts, pilots and similar things much more smoothly and purposefully. Indeed, the author pleads guilty to this criticism by saying in the Foreword ". . . I have been persuaded that [the book's] contents, rather than its form, are of immediate value. . . . I offer it to the public for what it is worth, with no illusions on my part as to its literary quality. . . ." While an honest disclaimer, this does not improve the quality of the presentation, and the reviewer can simply wish that Mr. Middleton had had the time to make drastic revisions for the sake of clarity and force. Much of the material is entirely new, much of it provocative, but the pedestrian presentation robs the material of its impact.

Does the author fully answer his purpose? He certainly covers all the territory which he mapped out in the Foreword, but again the lack of force in the presentation obscures his success. If the lay reader is patient and reads carefully he will find it all spread before him. The professional will know that this is an important work, a pioneer attempt to treat the economic history of the Chesapeake Bay as a unit, and he will be thankful for its appearance. The accolade of "monumental" may be given to *Tobacco Coast*, for indeed it is a monument to years of research and surely will stand for many decades before it is superseded as an exhaustive study of the subject.

Mr. Middleton is quite correct in pointing out that historians have often neglected the fact that the Chesapeake Bay is an economic unit, despite its political divisions, and that this profoundly affected the historical development of Virginia and Maryland. However, he overlooks the fact that history itself, and particularly economic history, is not divided neatly by such events as revolutions. The central feature of the book is the tobacco industry of Tidewater Maryland and Virginia, but he does not

follow the story of this industry to its denouement *after* the Revolution. Many things are left up in the air by this arbitrary termination. The author might have revealed the swift downfall of the Tidewater tobacco industry in the generation after 1775; he might have indicated the changing pattern of the tobacco trade after the British Navigation Laws were no longer in effect; he might have sketched in the phenomenal rise of Baltimore after 1780. The author may protest that he could not go on forever, and this is a fair protest, but some indication of these points if only in an epilogue, should have concluded the drama which he began. In this sense, the book's premise is faulty—we only have two-thirds of the story of the "tobacco coast."

WILBUR HARVEY HUNTER, JR.

The Peale Museum

Chesapeake Bay: A Pictorial Maritime History. By M. V. BREWINGTON.
Cambridge, Md.: Cornell Maritime Press, 1953. 229 pp. \$6.50.

This interesting volume displays the pageantry of the Chesapeake Bay from the arrival of the first settlers to these shores up to the present. This is the first serious attempt to bring between two covers examples of the steam and sailing craft of the Bay, tidewater scenes, and historical events. More than 300 reproductions of photos, maps, drawings, and paintings make up the illustrations while the book is divided into fourteen chapters of brief text.

At the outset the reader is introduced to the first "Explorers and Settlers," followed by a description of "Shipbuilding" in the Chesapeake area. Chapters on "Sailing Vessels," "Steamboats," "Ferries," and "Baycraft" tell of the many types of watercraft which traded on the Bay or were developed there.

The author describes the development of the "Ports," from those once prominent in the early days to the present chief shipping centers of Baltimore and Norfolk. The heading of "Commerce and Trade" relates the Chesapeake's imports and exports and the traffic confined to its waters.

The number of skills required to ready a ship for sea is brought out in the section devoted to "Maritime Artisans." The Chesapeake's chief basis to fame, its seafood, is reviewed in the chapter "Oysters, Crabs, and Fish." Featured are the methods employed in taking these from the water.

The book is brought to a conclusion with treatises on "Pilots," "Privateering," "Piracy and War," "The Bay's Maritime Museums," and "Sport."

As a whole the illustrations are an excellent assemblage of the Bay's historical and pictorial virtues even though the views concerning the upper Chesapeake and Maryland seem to outweigh those of the lower Bay and Virginia by almost three to one.

An unfortunate inclusion in "Baycraft," selected to represent the "ram," was the *William J. Stanford*, a vessel originally constructed as a two-masted schooner a score of years before the building of what has

been designated as the "first" ram. Later lengthened the *Stanford* resembled a ram only in that it had 3 baldheaded masts.

Failure to mention the extremely interesting marine museum at the Norfolk Naval Shipyard, Portsmouth, Virginia, in the chapter devoted to such institutions, was a grave omission.

This reviewer feels greater effort could have been made to identify by name more of the vessels pictured. And an index of vessel's names and places would have increased the value of the volume as a history. But overlooking such details the book contains a wealth of views of documentary value. The author is to be congratulated for assembling the illustrations from many sources and presenting them in an interesting manner. This record of the Bay is a welcome addition to the libraries of all interested in the Chesapeake and tidewater country.

ROBERT H. BURGESS

The Mariners' Museum

Baltimore As Seen by Visitors, 1783-1860. (Studies in Maryland History, No. 2) By RAPHAEL SEMMES. Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1953. xi, 208 pp. \$4.

This pretty little volume had been brought nearly to completion by its author before his pathetic demise in the autumn of 1952. Perhaps because he had spent only a year's research on the subject, what might have become, under fuller preparation, a major contribution to the cultural history of Baltimore remains a slight though useful monograph. The theme is treated in five chapters, usually covering one or two decades each, the longest being 42-page Chapter V on the 1840-1860 period. The valuable bibliography (pp. 181-194) lists 301 travel sources of varying type. They are predominantly English, with American items a poor second and the remainder breaking down as follows: French 10, German 7, Italian 3, Swedish and Hungarian 1 each.

The book's chief fault is its relatively narrow range. It is too bad, for example, that the author chose to ignore all writers of fiction, dozens of whom, in their background descriptions, provide revealing glimpses of Baltimore. With one exception, too, he ignored all manuscript sources. There is, furthermore, a recurring tendency to digression. The *vignettes* of Mme Patterson Bonaparte at Geneva, or of what Baltimoreans thought about some Japanese visitors (instead of vice-versa), are quite readable but also quite extraneous. On this basis all the following passages are beside the point: pp. 20-24, 70-71, 94-96, 118, 147, 175-180. Summarizing or critical commentary, where it exists, is meagre. At least one error occurs (p. 140) with the statement that throughout "the Civil War Baltimore was too close to the fighting front to attract visitors from overseas or even from the North—certainly not diarists, sightseers or writers of travel books. . . ." Yet in this very period one Anthony

Trollope, from overseas, twice visited our city and wrote about it interestingly in his travel book, *North America* (a fine new edition of which appeared in 1951).

But there is a credit side to the ledger. For one thing, the work boasts 13 well-chosen illustrations. For another, it has a very good index (provided by the staff of the Maryland Historical Society). Only 4 typos have been detected. And lastly, of course, is the beguiling opportunity here offered of treading once again those Dear Dead Days of Faerie when local hotels (specifically, the Indian Queen) supplied bedroom slippers for all guests, or when the charm of a Sabbath congregation at the Cathedral could be termed unparalleled, "Excepting on a very brilliant Sunday at the Tuileries," or when—with a straight face—Jones' Falls could be described as "a most beautiful, romantic place. . . ." For evoking such days the late Mr. Semmes deserves our nostalgic gratitude, and, in any event, he has broken good ground for a more nearly definitive work on the subject.

CURTIS CARROLL DAVIS

Prince of Players: Edwin Booth. By ELEANOR RUGGLES. New York: Norton, 1953. 401 pp. \$4.50.

There have been about ten biographies written on Edwin Booth. Miss Ruggles' recent work on Bel Air's great Hamlet, however, is by the far the best of the lot. While she has employed the materials of the earlier books (with perhaps better use of Booth's letters), she has effected a beautiful synthesis of all her sources so that a warm, understanding picture of the whole man, and the world in which he lived and worked, emerges.

Prince of Players does not linger in Maryland long. After Ned Booth's boyhood on the Howard County farm and on Exeter Street in Baltimore, the book moves on to his travelling apprenticeship with his father, his early trouping in California, his life with his two wives (the charming Mary Devlin, who died too soon, and the unhappy Mary McVicker, who went mad), his business ventures and his European tour, all with great sympathy and insight. Analysis of his acting is handled adequately enough, but kept more or less incidental to the story of his life. His Hamlet, of course, is discussed in some detail; but for the rest, the emphasis is on Edwin Booth, the man, on the stage, rather than on his interpretation of any particular rôle.

Booth's contemporary biographers (his sister Asia, his daughter Edwina, and his friend, the dramatic critic "Weeping Willie" Winter) were too close to him to be objective. They are discreetly Victorian in withholding certain facts of his life, and this side idolatry in their adulation of him. More recently, Lockridge's *Darling of Misfortune* (1932) is a fine, thorough job of rediscovery, marred somewhat by a facetious style; and Kimmel's *The Mad Booths of Maryland* (1940), uncovering a wealth of

new material, has become the definitive work on the whole Booth family. *Prince of Players*, however, accomplishes what the last two books attempt: it is a book that can be used not only by the scholar (although footnotes or a reference list, and better biographical entries would have improved it for this use), but read for pleasure by the layman.

JOHN FORD SOLLERS

American Academy of Fine Arts and American Art-Union. By MARY BARTLETT COWDREY. New York: New-York Historical Society, 1953. 2 vols. \$7.50.

Important new light is being thrown upon early 19th century American art and artists by the publication of the records and catalogues of early American art exhibitions in various cities, compiled by capable experts in the field of early 19th century American art history, and this has been especially true in the case of New York City. Thus in 1943 there was published by the New-York Historical Society the exhibition records of the National Academy of Design covering the years 1826-1860, of which Mary Bartlett Cowdrey, now of the Art Department of Smith College, was the editor. Now a decade later this invaluable work has been followed under the authorship of Miss Cowdrey, also in two volumes and with the imprint of the New-York Historical Society, *American Academy of Fine Arts and American Art-Union, 1816-1852*, the records of exhibitions in New York of the American Academy, 1816-1843, and of the American Art-Union, 1838-1852. Included in this work in Volume I is a foreword by James Thomas Flexner, the well known authority on American art, which tells us of the early attempts by artists to organize themselves into professional groups; an introduction on the history and activities of the American Academy of Fine Arts by Theodore Sizer, Professor of the History of Art at Yale; and an introductory chapter on the American Art-Union by Charles E. Baker of the New-York Historical Society. These valuable introductory chapters are followed in Volume II by Miss Cowdrey's own scholarly work on the Exhibition Record with listings, arranged under the names of the artists, of the several thousand paintings exhibited between 1816 and 1852, first at the American Academy and later at the Art-Union, compiled from the printed catalogues of exhibitions and other records of these two societies. It is to be noted that the exhibitions at the American Academy were largely of paintings owned by well-to-do collectors and connoisseurs, attributed by the owners to sundry noted European artists; while those at the Art-Union were composed largely of paintings by contemporary American artists especially of the New York area who were exhibitors.

Local studies of 18th and early 19th century art in the larger cities contribute much to our knowledge of early American painters and painting. A catalogue by Anna Wells Rutledge of works of art shown at the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts which was established in 1805, will

soon appear under the auspices of the American Philosophical Society. Miss Rutledge's work on *Artists in the Life of Charleston*, 1949, was a notable contribution to the study of early southern art. Similar studies should also be made of the early art and artists of other American cities.

J. HALL PLEASANTS

The Spanish Jesuit Mission in Virginia, 1570-1572. By CLIFFORD M. LEWIS and ALBERT J. LOOMIE. Chapel Hill: Published for Virginia Historical Society by Univ. of North Carolina Press, 1953. 294 pp. \$7.50.

Persons who object to having their opinions challenged by their reading should avoid this book. Those harboring the notion the Spanish never attempted to settle in the Chesapeake Bay area may be slightly upset to learn that thirty-seven years before Jamestown Spaniards made a courageous but ill-fated attempt to plant a mission in what is now Virginia. Moreover, readers are clearly shown that the Jesuit mission was a part of a design that included the creation of a vast Spanish colonial empire and the discovery of a strait to the Orient, as well as the transfer of missionary activity to a more promising location.

This study will jolt many well-informed students of history into shifting the events of 1570-1572 from the Potomac-Rappahannock to the James-York region. Fathers Lewis and Loomie advance, in this reviewer's opinion, the convincing hypothesis that the missionaries travelled up the James to College Creek, carried their supplies over to Queens Creek or Kings Creek and paddled them down to the York River to a Chiskiack village. Three of these devoted servants of God were killed near Jamestown and the remainder at the village on the York.

Their conclusion revises the conjecture of Herbert E. Bolton, the eminent historian, that the Jesuit mission was "perhaps on the Rappahannock." To some students of Virginia history the authors of this book do not give sufficient weight to the contention of David I. Bushnell, the distinguished authority on Indians, that enough Spanish artifacts were found in the cache at Leedstown to justify the conclusion that some Spaniards had been temporarily on the Rappahannock.

At least one historical researcher feels that the Spanish missionaries may have been massacred by the war-like Manahoac Indians instead of the Powhatan Indians.

This study is divided into: a historical synthesis (which will be all that many non-specialists will read); the documents in their original Spanish or Latin and their English translation; reproductions of a number of early maps, and an extended discussion of the Chesapeake Bay area as it was known to Sixteenth Century explorers.

The authors have displayed great zeal in studying and making available widely scattered documentary sources. Their researches were not confined to libraries and archives. Through the courtesy of Governor John S.

Battle, they used the Virginia State launch in exploring the lower Bay and the mouth of the James, as a means of interpreting the accounts of the Spanish navigators.

Some readers of the *Maryland Historical Magazine* may be especially interested in this book because it concerns the Chesapeake and Catholic missionary pioneering and because the two authors were at Woodstock College when they wrote it.

The authors; Dr. E. G. Swem, "occasional advisor"; the Virginia Historical Society; and the University of North Carolina Press should be congratulated on the publication of this important contribution to early American history.

CARROL H. QUENZEL

*Mary Washington College of the
University of Virginia*

A History of the South. By FRANCIS B. SIMKINS. New York: Knopf, 1953. xiii, 655 pp. \$7.50.

Those who question the validity of a sectional approach to American history will find pungent arguments substantiating that approach in Professor Simkins' new study, *A History of the South*. This book is more than a revised edition of his earlier work, *The South Old and New: 1820-1947*. It has been re-written to include the colonial period as well as extended to record the South's reactions to the elections of 1952.

Professor Simkins' avowed concern is "to stress those political and social traits that makes the region between the Potomac and Rio Grande a cultural province conscious of its identity." Thus he places his emphasis on an interpretation of the South after 1820, when the Missouri Compromise over the question of the extension of slavery created a sectional awareness, which persists today. This sectional thesis is ably and convincingly documented.

This historian's interpretation of the history of the South is in line with that of revisionist scholars who have seen the urgent need of a re-evaluation of that section's history. He is particularly acute in his analysis of the South's attempted adjustments to the demands of Northern progress after the Civil War. Here the paradoxes of the New South movement are clearly revealed. The theme of the Negro and his problems is a continuing one throughout this study, and Professor Simkins scrutinizes with sympathy and broad understanding the role of the Negro as a second-class citizen, not only in the South, but in the nation at large. Nor does he fail to give proper weight to the influence of religion on the social, political, and intellectual outlook of Southerners. Perhaps there is an over-stressing of the conservative tendencies of Southern history, at the expense of certain limited but persistent signs of liberal and even radical trends. Yet this is a truly comprehensive study of the South in all of its important manifestations.

Professor Simkins is a distinguished historian who understands and interprets his section with admirable objectivity and scholarly merit.

SUZANNE C. LOWITT

The Negro in the Civil War. By BENJAMIN QUARLES. Boston: Little, Brown, 1953. xvi, 379 pp. \$5.

This volume should hold interest for more than the research specialist in the Civil War period; especially it should appeal to the members of the colored race who have pride in the achievements of their race; it may not be too much to say that it may appeal to the general reader.

The scope covered by the study is comprehensive, for the research has covered practically every aspect of the life of the negro during the war years. That research has turned up much fresh data on many old subjects.

This reviewer deplores the absence of documentation, for the work is one of historical research. The author's training appears in the bibliography (see pp. 354, 356 for exact references) and in general references in the text. However, one of the valuable contributions of historical scholarship has been insistence on exact references. The reader need not pin himself down to reading the notes, whether on the next page or relegated to the rear of the book. Absence of documentation can easily lead to inexactness of statement.

The organization of the material leaves something to be desired, as it seems to be motivated by reader appeal. For instance, descriptions of battles occur in three separate places. It does not appear why discussion of the military contribution of the negro should not be brought together in one chapter.

In general the style is good. There are several instances of happy phrasing ("Garrison was becoming . . . reformer emeritus." p. 101) and the descriptions of Garrison and Phillips are satisfying in their vividness (pp. 100-101). Striking titles for chapter headings attract the reader, as "No More Driver's Lash." In his zeal for arresting titles, however, the author chooses some which apply to a segment of the chapter ("Anselmas Reports to God," Chapter X). Attention should be called yet once again to the misuse of the word, "Creols" p. 138). For inconsistency in punctuation of dates (see pp. 28, 69, 95, 300) the publisher may be responsible, but, whoever is responsible, the form should be uniform.

ELLA LONN

Early American Steamers. By ERIC HEYL. Buffalo: 1953. vii, 467 pp. \$8.

Sidewheeler Saga, A Chronicle of Steamboating. By RALPH N. HILL. New York: Rinehart, 1953. xii, 342 pp. \$5.

These two books were selected for joint review because they deal to a large degree with the same subject. The manner in which the authors have presented it, however, is as wide apart as the poles. Eric Heyl, as he is well qualified to do, has given us a precise alphabetical catalogue of early steamships. Each listing gives a concise history of the ship and, what is remarkable, a picture.

Of local interest is the listing of the early ships of the much-lamented

Merchants and Miners Line. Another interesting listing is the *Quaker City*, on which Mark Twain voyaged to Europe and the Near East. It was this trip that gave birth to his humorous and entertaining book, *The Innocents Abroad*. It is a valuable reference book for the student of steamship history.

Ralph Nading Hall, while dealing with the invention of the steamboat and steamship and their subsequent development, has given us something in an entirely different vein. Here is a book in which the average reader will find great entertainment. The author's account of the machinations of Livingstone, Stevens, Vanderbilt, Drew, Fisk, and Gould, how they changed sides as suited their purpose and often doublecrossed their own partners, makes an hilarious story which the reader will not soon forget. Mr. Hall has given us such a readable story that we may forgive him for dismissing the Chesapeake with a few lines, and for placing the date for the introduction of steam in Chesapeake waters as 1815. The correct date is, of course, 1813.

WILLIAM CALVERT STEUART

William L. Wilson and Tariff Reform. By FESTUS P. SUMMERS. New Brunswick: Rutgers Univ. Press, 1953. xi, 288 pp. \$5.

Professor Summers has written a good book about William L. Wilson of West Virginia. Drawing upon twenty-eight manuscript collections, speeches and writings, as well as magazine articles and standard secondary works, Summers has traced the career of Wilson as a leading advocate of American tariff reform during his tenure as Representative (Democrat) from the Second Congressional District of West Virginia. Narrative in style and chronological in structure, the heart of the book is contained in nine chapters that recount the bitter inter-party and intra-party tariff debates and political maneuvers that took place in the United States from 1883 to 1894.

Wilson was a Jeffersonian Democrat by background and intellectual preference. His opposition to high protectionist Republicans and Democrats placed him side by side with Grover Cleveland in an effort to vitiate the growing power of the post-Civil War industrialists and producers who demanded tariff assistance against foreign competition. Though he had a touch of Spencerian individualism, he was unwilling to go all the way and condemn government intervention in economic life. Instead, he chose to adopt laissez faire, merge it with opposition to economic interests with which he lacked sympathy, and plead for equal opportunity for all. Though well-meant, Wilson's position was already static in an age when practical men understood the importance of governmental legislation to the welfare of economic interests. It was, moreover, a self deception, for his advocacy of government sponsored low tariffs put him on a side in the social struggle that marked the eighties and nineties in American history. But Wilson was no extremist and he had to accept the distorted version of his tariff ideas in the Wilson-Gorman Tariff of 1894. He

regarded Populism as a tactical block to tariff reform and then was unable to see that the free silver cry masked a fundamental protest against some of the very wrongs that he himself opposed. In the end, his devotion to the tariff and his fear of Populism made him a Gold Democrat and a fading light in the Democratic Party.

CHARLES VEVIER

Rutgers University

American Constitutional Custom: A Forgotten Factor in the Founding.

By BURLEIGH C. RODICK. New York; Philosophical Library, 1953. xvi, 244 pp. \$4.75.

Consisting of a series of essays, topical in arrangement, this volume briefly attempts a "general survey of habit, custom and tradition as it developed in early American politics." Chronologically, it covers the growth of American constitutionalism prior to 1800, with occasional comments on the period beyond. Within its covers are compressed 140 pages of text and 90 pages of notes and bibliography.

While obviously a labor of love which has been the author's center of attention for many years, the monograph nonetheless does not claim to be a work of original scholarship or research. Mr. Rodick presents his effort as something of a pioneer study in a hitherto untilled field of scholarship, and as an "interpretative study" consisting of "brief and fragmentary notes." Striving at historical analysis and interpretation, he has read and consulted a vast amount of secondary and some primary literature, but has not always digested fully and critically.

In the main, the book is based on secondary works, and on the opinions and conclusions of other writers. Historical parallels are drawn between English and American history; counterparts in the history of the two countries are often alluded to, but the comparisons are sometimes forced, and the connections are not always warranted by the facts. Written, apparently, for "the love of art and letters for their own sake," the book does give evidence of much thought and deep concern.

ALEXANDER DeCONDE

Duke University

The Writing of American History. By MICHAEL KRAUS. Norman: Univ. of Oklahoma Press, 1953. x, 387 pp. \$5.50.

Professor Kraus' book is very welcome indeed. Since his earlier work, *A History of American History*, went out of print, students and teachers of United States history have felt the need for a comprehensive survey of American historiography. Covering the ground from colonial times to the present, the Kraus volume provides the best available introduction to and analysis of the writings of our major historians.

Although largely a revision of the earlier *History*, the present book, it should be noted, is much improved in both style and organization. Some of the material dealing with older historical works has been compressed through the elimination of long source quotations, while a number of more recent histories have been included. The rearrangement of the latter chapters and the greater effort to integrate historiography with trends in intellectual history are especially noteworthy. Also valuable are the revised footnotes which keep abreast of the expanding secondary literature concerning American historical writing.

In short the reader will find *The Writing of American History* a superior version of a long standard work, and anyone with a serious interest in United States history will want a copy on his bookshelf.

ARTHUR A. EKIRCH, JR.

American University

Thomas Rodney: Revolutionary & Builder of the West. By WILLIAM B. HAMILTON. Durham: Duke Univ. Press, 1953. 96 pp. \$2.

An Unpublished Letter of William Beckford of Hertford. Edited by THOMAS B. BRUMBAUGH. Jamaica Monograph No. 17. Frederick: 1953. 13 pp.

Thomas Rodney and his brother, Caesar, were organizers of the American Revolution in the Kent and Sussex counties of Delaware. Conservatives, landowners, and officeholders, they rebelled against British taxes and encroachments and helped to revolutionize Delaware. "Wherever there was anti-Tory action in Kent," Thomas Rodney "was in the van." But the violence of the Revolution passed quickly and Rodney failed to win either state or national prominence. As a man of lesser talents, when compared with Adams and Hancock, he found only humble reward for his patriotic work and did not again win favor until the Jeffersonian revolution. After 1800 Rodney became judge and land commissioner in Mississippi territory where his long life ended in the excitement of the Burr conspiracy and in the turbulence of frontier democracy.

Mr. Hamilton's monograph is a separate printing of the biographical sketch that appeared in his excellent book, *Angle-American Law on the*

Frontier: Thomas Rodney and his Territorial Cases. For describing the important contributions of Thomas Rodney, this essay is too brief and condensed; it is little more than a sketch and leaves out explanations of motivations and associations which would make Rodney's career more meaningful.

Beckford's letter, September 27, 1776, presents an unusually sympathetic view of America's part in the Revolution against Great Britain. The West Indian planter deplored the "folly" and "timidity" of the home government's policy and determination—"where prepossession, and infatuation so totally engross the bosom of the King, how are we to expect that he will sacrifice his friends, in compliance to the inclinations, and the safety of his people." This letter is unedited and has only a brief introduction, but it shows that West Indians shared some of the enthusiasm for revolution that enflamed the continental colonials.

JOHN A. SCHUTZ

Whittier College

The Traitor and the Spy. By JAMES THOMAS FLEXNER. New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1953. 431 pp. \$5.75.

In almost every respect *The Traitor and the Spy* offers a positive response to Professor Samuel Eliot Morison's plea for better writing in historical works (cf. Morison's *History as a Literary Art: An Appeal to Young Historians* [Old South Leaflets, Series II, No. 1]). Here is a portrait of treason which the public can read and the student will utilize. Mr. Flexner skilfully interweaves three lives against the tumultuous backdrop of the American Revolution—vain and talented Benedict Arnold, sensual and selfish Peggy Shippen Arnold, sophisticated, ambitious Major John André are the leading characters in a powerful narrative. Who was the villain, which the hero, why the treason? The lay reader will find clear answers to these questions, and a firm guide through the labyrinth of political strategy and military tactics. A treasure of detail marshalled into convincing conclusions will offer dividends to the specialist on the period who takes up *The Traitor and the Spy*. And all readers will delight in the excellence of the author's style.

But a complaint must be registered, a complaint against the relegation of scholarly apparatus into a pamphlet which is available from the publisher upon request. So far as this reviewer is concerned this is an unsatisfactory compromise between publisher's costs, public acceptance, and scholarly integrity. The footnotes in a separate pamphlet are almost useless.

It seems to be past time that writers of "scholarly" works took up this question among themselves. A clear line of footnote policy is needed. Perhaps a discussion of this problem deserves a place on the agenda of historical association meetings.

HAROLD M. HYMAN

Earlham College

The Lady of Arlington. By HARNETT T. KANE. Garden City: Doubleday, 1953. 288 pp. \$3.50.

Harnett T. Kane has by now established himself as one of the best known writers of historical fiction in the country today. Using a formula which includes a respectable amount of "honest-to-goodness" historical research, a bit of psychological probing and a workmanlike job of writing in the romantic vein, he has produced several successful candidates for the best seller lists. Kane's most recent excursion into historical fiction, *The Lady of Arlington*, is based on the adult life of Mrs. Robert E. Lee. In reading this novel it becomes quite clear that Mary Custis Lee in herself was not a remarkable woman. The story of her life, however, is far from being uninteresting for it reflects quite adequately the intriguing social customs and attitudes of the ante-bellum aristocracy of the upper South. Moreover, the glimpses which are afforded into General Lee's complex personality from the vantage point of his wife, contribute to the attractiveness the book might have for the devotee of historical fiction. Although no one would accuse Kane of possessing literary or interpretive genius, it must be admitted that *The Lady of Arlington* reveals his special talent for popularizing history without unduly distorting it.

DONALD R. MCCOY

State University of New York, Cortland

Mount Vernon: the Story of a Shrine. By GERALD W. JOHNSON and CHARLES C. WALL. New York: Random House, 1953. 122 pp. \$2.75.

The first half of this book, that by Gerald W. Johnson, is, as the title of the whole suggests, the story of a shrine. Divided by the author into three parts, it is an absorbing account of an extraordinary undertaking. How a handful of people led by one woman rescued Mount Vernon from decay and made it what it is today is told in the author's entertaining style. He describes the persons most closely involved, and tells something of the almost unsurmountable problems they faced and the solutions they found and are finding still. Mr. Johnson emphasizes a viewpoint all too often neglected in accounts of things past, that of trying to see the situations in the light of their own times, and to judge them accordingly, rather than by present day standards.

The second half of the book consists of extracts from Washington's letters and diaries selected and annotated by Charles C. Wall, Superintendent of the estate. One is easily able to see how useful these sources were in the restoration of Mount Vernon. One could wish, perhaps, that more details were included, more explanatory notes, replies to some of the letters, etc. But that it not the purpose of this book. It may well stimulate readers to further study of what is only touched on here.

A thorough index completes this wholly satisfactory little volume.

NOTES AND QUERIES

TWO MONUMENTS TO SEVERN TEACKLE WALLIS

By MARVIN C. ROSS

Baltimore has two monuments to one of its distinguished citizens, a lawyer and man of letters, Severn Teackle Wallis (1816-1894).¹ The first of these is a composite affair, a rather unusual procedure, the origin of which is possibly worth recording. The second is an original monument about which infinite pains were taken as noted in the diaries and account books of George A. Lucas, a Baltimorean living in Paris, who acted as the "go-between" in arranging matters between the local committee and the French sculptor.

The first monument to Severn Teackle Wallis stands in the entrance to the Court House in Baltimore. The earliest mention of it by George A. Lucas is in his account book on April 13, 1897, when he noted that he had written about it to Henry Walters enclosing a letter from Barbédienne, the French bronze founder. His words are as follows, "Postage H. Walters, Barbédienne and my letter relative to Chapu figure with Bust Teackle Wallis." From the existing monument we know that these words meant that a bronze cast of "La Jeunesse," Chapu's (1833-1891) base for the monument to Henri Regnault (1843-1871) in the École des Beaux-Arts in Paris, was to be surmounted with a bronze bust of Wallis cast from a plaster of Rinehart's marble bust now in the Peabody Institute. The monument was a considerable time in finishing for only in 1901 did Mr. Lucas note that it was ready. He went to see it together with Mr. Warfield of Baltimore who was in Paris at the time. Finally, on the 19th of September of that year Mr. Lucas gave Barbédienne instructions about shipping the monument to Baltimore and two days later paid the bill. In spite of the strange composite nature of the monument it is not without success in the place where it was erected.

The second monument to Severn Teackle Wallis was not a pastiche. The sculptor selected was Laurent Honoré Marqueste (1848-1920), a pupil of Jouffroy and Falguière who did many official commissions in France and whose work may be seen at the Louvre and on the façade of the Hotel de Ville in Paris and in many museums throughout France. He was a competent sculptor, but his preoccupation with mere form caused Chander R. Post in his history of modern sculpture to say that much of

¹ Brief descriptions are found in W. S. Rusk, *Art in Baltimore, Monuments and Memorials* (Baltimore, 1924), pp. 98-100.

his work lacks meaning. The architect selected to design the pedestal was Louis Bernier (born in 1845), a pupil of the École des Beaux-Arts. Bernier had already designed the Barye monument in Paris while Marqueste had been the sculptor who did the medallion in relief of Barye on the front face of the monument. George A. Lucas had been the chief instigator behind the erection of the Barye monument in Paris (1894) so that the collaboration of these three men was not a new thing.

The notations in the diaries and account books of George A. Lucas at the Peabody Library give us a picture of the many details involved in the overseeing of such a commission by a careful and painstaking man. The entries cover a long period from October, 1901, until November, 1906. The first model was not satisfactory although Lucas had loaned a volume of Wallis's writings with a portrait to Marqueste. Lucas then had W. H. Rinehart's plaster bust of Wallis sent from Barbédienne's (the bronze caster) to Marqueste, and a bundle of Wallis's clothes as well as photographs and an engraved portrait sent from America. The second model seen by several members of the Baltimore committee including Henry Walters, Frank Frick, and President Gilman of The Johns Hopkins University was finally approved and shipped to America.

This record of the making of the Wallis statue is possibly among the most complete that we have about the details involved in the ordering and overseeing the completion of a monument as simple as Marqueste's statue of Severn Teackle Wallis and is as such of considerable interest. The statue was first put up in front of The Walters Art Gallery but later, when Andrew O'Connor's equestrian statue of Lafayette was erected below the Washington Monument, it was removed to the east of Mount Vernon Place where it now stands. The reductions in bronze of the statue about which Mr. Lucas made inquiries at several bronze foundries in Paris seem never to have been executed.

The Walters Art Gallery possesses a small plaster model of the Wallis statue which like most models, being the first idea of the sculptor, seems much fresher and more lively than the finished bronze. It is in every detail like the bronze in Mount Vernon Square and so must be the second model mentioned in Mr. Lucas' notes. Pencilled on the base of the plaster is the following, "Marqueste Paris, 1904." There is no record at the Gallery when the model was acquired, but the pencilled date indicates possibly that Mr. Henry Walters acquired it on his visit to Marqueste in 1904 with Mr. Lucas.

Associate Editor—Mr. Francis C. Haber, who was Associate Editor in 1952 and 1953, has severed his connection with the *Maryland Historical Magazine*. His services were invaluable and are greatly missed by the Editor.

Carmichael, William—Unpublished letters to and from William Carmichael (d. 1795), of Queen Anne's Co., member of Continental Congress 1778-80 and chargé d'affaires in Madrid, Spain, 1782-94 are sought. Carmichael's daughter, Alphona C. (Mrs. James) Blake, who lived near Chestertown in the 1830s, petitioned Congress for recompense for her father's expenses while performing official duties at Madrid. Apparently she had her father's papers at that time. Who inherited the papers? Where are they now? Any help in this matter will be greatly appreciated by the Editor.

Chesapeake Beach Railway—Need information about the railway which operated between Washington, D. C., and Chesapeake Beach, Calvert Co. Also pictures, timetables, tickets, rosters of motive power and equipment, any personal anecdotes about trips over the line.

HENRY S. LIBBY

4550 MacArthur Blvd., N. W., Washington 7, D. C.

The J. H. Furst Company, which has printed the *Maryland Historical Magazine* since its inception in 1906, this year completes its fiftieth year in business. We extend our felicitations and best wishes for another fifty. We have no doubt that, in this uncertain world, we can safely predict for the future the same pleasant relationship enjoyed by the Society and the Company for many years.

Liddell—Want information concerning James Liddell, who lived in New Castle Co., Del., ca. 1750-65, moved to S. C. ca. 1765, m. Esther (?), son Andrew b. New Castle Co. 1750. Also John Liddell, m. Rachel (?), son Wm. b. in Annapolis 3-10-1762, had brother Moses who moved to S. C. ca. 1767. Family name appears in St. Mary's Co. and Dorchester Cos. in 1720-40.

FRANK B. LIDDELL

P. O. Box 2839, Memphis, Tenn.

McMahon—Request any information concerning name of Sarah, step-mother of John V. L. McMahon (1800-71). The widow of John I. Hayes (b. 1782, d. 9-4-1815 at Cumberland), she m. Jan., 1817, Wm. McMahon. A dau. of 2d marriage was Sarah Louisa McMahon who m. Clement L. Vallandigham on 8-27-1846.

R. G. SMITH

487 Union Ave., Laconia, N. H.

Morgan and Dowden—Can anyone help me identify Alice Morgan, widow of Jarvis Morgan, Gent., and mother of Jarvis Morgan, Jr., who d. in 1698? Alice Morgan m. (2d) Wm. Roper, in 1675. They lived on South River, Anne Arundel Co., 1676-1691. Would also like ancestry of Wm. Roper, said to have been born ca. 1640, probably in Va. He was testator for Wm. Grant of Anne Arundel Co. in 1671.

Which of three Dowden brothers, John, Michael, or Thomas, was father of Thomas Dowden who m. Mary Davis, dau. of Wm. Davis of Frederick Co. and had son, Clementius Dowden, b. Jan. 11, 1762, in Prince George's Co.?

MRS. VERNON L. LEMASTER
282 Ardmore Circle, N. W., Atlanta, Ga.

Myers—Need names parents of Ann Myers, wife of Wm. Maslin III, b. 1736, m. (1st) Martha Glenn 1759, d. 1812. Wm. and Ann Myers Maslin lived at Gerardstown, Berkeley Co. (now W. Va.)

MRS. ARTHUR ARMSTRONG
2911 Chesley Ave., Baltimore 14.

Patrick—Wish information about John Patrick "of Baltimore County," whose daughter Mary m. on Dec. 5, 1776, at Gunpowder Meeting of Friends, Thomas Stockdale, son of William and Sarah Field Stockdale of Bucks Co., Pa. Thomas Stockdale m. 2d, about 1789, Amy Allen in Washington Co., Pa.

MALCOLM H. DILL
633 Charles Street Avenue, Towson 4.

Tener—Would like information on Henry Jackson Tener, b. 1786, m. Sarah Thomas, moved to Va.; Henry Tener mustered in Flying Camp, 7-13-1776, Frederick Co.; and Jacob Tener m. Catherine Pertion in 1797 in Balto. Co., children Jonathan, Betsy, George, Salome, and others.

MRS M. H. DAVIS
1233 West 63rd Terrace, Kansas City, Mo.

Back Issues—The Society always welcomes the return of any and all back issues of the *Maryland Historical Magazine* that members may not wish to retain.

COMMENT ON A RECENT REVIEW

Ellis, *The Life of James Cardinal Gibbons, Archbishop of Baltimore, 1834-1921*.

Your September issue (XLVIII, 243-244) contained a review of my biography of Cardinal Gibbons by David S. Sparks of the University of Maryland. The second paragraph of the review might easily convey the impression to readers unfamiliar with the cardinal's life that in practically everything that pertained to the Church in the United States, he opposed the policies of the Holy See. Such an impression would be quite false. Oppose the Holy See he certainly did at times when he felt the best interests of the Church in this country demanded it, but to suggest that Gibbons generally entertained an anti-Roman bias in his policies would be a grave injustice to the deep sense of fealty and love which he always felt for the Papacy as the center to which he owed his spiritual allegiance.

The sentence with which the paragraph is introduced is likewise decidedly not true. It reads: "Throughout his career Cardinal Gibbons insisted he was a citizen first and a prelate second" (p. 243). Nowhere in all the many sources pertaining to his long and active career can one find anything to so much as suggest such a sentiment on the part of the cardinal, and nowhere in the two volumes of his biography is such a view advanced. Where Mr. Sparks acquired an interpretation of this kind remains a mystery to me. Cardinal Gibbons was always a sterling American citizen, but he never once suggested that the love and loyalty he owed to his country took precedence over the loyalty he owed to his Church and his spiritual superiors.

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CONTRIBUTORS

Mrs. ROBERT S. PEABODY, a great granddaughter of Governor Lee, has devoted much time to the arrangement of his correspondence before giving it to the public, and is the author of several monographs on other branches of the family. ☆ Mr. BIERCK teaches history at the University of North Carolina. ☆ Mrs. RAYMOND B. CLARK, SR., who lives at St. Michaels, and is a lineal descendant of the Kerseys, is a native of Talbot County long interested in local history and genealogy. ☆ Mr. CLARK, a former contributor, holds an M. A. degree from the University of Pennsylvania and has recently accepted a fellowship at the Henry Francis duPont Winterthur Museum. ☆ Mr. SWANSON, novelist and author of *The Perilous Fight*, is a member of the Council of the Society.

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